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ABSTRACT

This publication includes the following articles: Introduction to Issues in Culture and Learning; The House Form as a Cornerstone of Culture; Music for Multi-cultural Students; Creative Writing in English: Problems Faced by Undergraduates in the English Department, University of Hong Kong; Re-entry/Transition Seminars for Overseas Sojourners: Report on the Wingspread Colloquium; Personal Problems Solving Resources Used by University of Minnesota Foreign Students; Identification of Cross-Cultural Talent: The Empirical Approach of the Peace Corps; Description of Peace Corps Volunteers Experience in Afghanistan; Roots of Bilingual/Bicultural Education in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands; An Overview of Alaska Native Bilingual Education; In Search of a Home: Colonial Education in Micronesia; Teaching English in Asia--An Overview; International Educational Cooperation and the World's Future; and, Dilemmas of Language Transition: Challenges to Language Planning in India. (JM)

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TOPICS IN CULTURE LEARNING

VOLUME 3 1975

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Edited by Richard W. Brislin

August, 1975

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Each year the East-West Center brings together more than 1,500 men and women from the many nations and cultures of these regions. They work and study together while exchanging ideas and experiences in cooperative programs seeking solutions to important problems of mutual concern to East and West. For each participant from the United States in Center programs, two participants are sought from the more than 60 countries and territories in Asia and the Pacific area.

Five institutes with international, interdisciplinary academic and professional staffs conduct the East-West Center's problem-oriented programs. East-West areas on which Center programs are focused include communication across national barriers, culture and language learning, food systems, population dynamics, and technological adaptation in developmental processes aimed at improving the quality of life. Each year the Center awards a limited number of Open Grants for graduate degree education and innovative research by Senior Fellows in areas not encompassed by institute programs.

The Center is directed by the Board of Governors of a public, non-profit educational corporation—known as "The Center for Cultural and Technical Interchange Between East and West, Inc."—created by the Hawaii State Legislature in 1975. The U.S. Congress provides basic funding for Center programs and a variety of scholarships, fellowships, internships and other awards. Additional cost-sharing of programs and participants is worked out with Asian/Pacific governments, regional agencies, private enterprise and foundations. The Center is situated on land adjacent to and provided by the University of Hawaii, which conducts classes and grants degrees for degree-seeking East-West Center students who also are involved in the Center's problem-oriented programs.

ABOUT THE COVER . . . *Four symbols adopted by the East-West Culture Learning Institute are reproduced on the cover in addition to the East-West Center logo which suggests the four primary directions North, South, East and West. The yin-yang symbol represents the interaction of opposites in nature (e.g., positive/negative, masculine/feminine) according to traditional Chinese cosmology. The concept, as well as the symbol, is found throughout the Sinitic area. In the lower right is the Sanskrit term "om," used in Hinduism, Sikhism, and Lamaism as a mantra in the contemplation of ultimate reality, the "absolute." The double spiral is found in several Polynesian cultures, symbolizing cultural integration. The knot motif probably originated in South Asia, and is found extensively throughout Europe, often with the connotation of "interaction" or "interchange."*

Design by James E. Ritchie

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INTRODUCTION TO ISSUES IN CULTURE AND LEARNING

As with the articles in volume 2 of Topics in Culture Learning, the articles in this present volume can be grouped into four categories that describe many of the activities and interests of the East-West Culture Learning Institute. Judging from the mail we have received and from the submission of articles from people not associated with the Institute, the categories also describe the interests of many people involved in some aspect of the interrelation between culture and learning. The four categories are:

(1) learning one's own culture;
(2) learning about a culture of which a person is not a member;
(3) formal educational programs designed to teach about one's own culture, or to teach about another culture;
(4) analysis of concepts and issues central to educational programs involving culture learning.

Learning About One's Own and About Another Culture

Ideas that fall into categories one and two are strongly related since in learning about another culture, people gain insight into their own, that is, into the culture where they grew up and spent most of their lives. People can observe different organizational forms and social practices in various cultures, see how they function in those cultures, and observe how the forms and practices relate to each other. With this experience of viewing aspects of another culture as a background, people can then more easily and objectively analyze how various elements function and interrelate in their own culture. There are three papers in this volume which provide explicit analyses of specific elements in various cultures: music (William Feltz); house forms (Stephen Bochner); and the writing of fiction (Helen Kwok and Mimi Chan).

Without the experience of observing how different elements function in different cultures, it is difficult to have any view but the obviously ethnocentric one: people all over the world live and behave pretty much as people do back home. But when people observe that such elements as housing, music, and fiction writing are treated differently in various parts of the world, it is much easier to take a "culture-relative" view of one's own background and to see that various ways of behaving are "good" and "bad" only within a given cultural system, not within an imposed system based on someone else's evaluation. But without observation of cultural differences, there is no motivation to examine the antecedents and consequences of the differences, hence no learning about one's own and another culture.

Analysis of such aspects of culture is a good tool that can be used in short-term programs designed to introduce culture learning. For instance, I have observed the actual production of the house form drawings reproduced in Bochner's article. The people, participants in a Culture Learning Institute program focusing on bilingual education, drew their pictures, talked about them, answered each other's questions, and generally had a lively session in which they learned a great deal. It was easy for the individuals' to talk about their own drawings, and so it was a good "ice breaker" for interacting in the multicultural group. The drawings became a tool through which various aspects of life in the different cultures were introduced.

The article that deals explicitly with learning about one's own culture is by Harriet Marsh. Her article is a report on a workshop designed to examine the special issues facing students, who have studied in another culture, upon their return home. The focus, then, is on issues returnees will face in their own culture: How will they fit in? How will they be accepted by their families? Will there be jealousy on the part of their colleagues at work? Can their special training received in the other culture be put to profitable use? Efforts have been made to provide short term seminars for students just before their return home to reduce the potential "reverse culture shock" they might encounter. Recently, the National Association for Foreign Student Affairs (see Marsh's article for the address) has commissioned a committee to prepare materials that might be used in the development and administration of such seminars, to be held at various places where there are a large number of students about to return home.

Formal Programs in Culture Learning

This volume contains an impressively large number of articles concerned with programs that have been designed to teach about one's own or about another culture. The term "formal program" is used to denote a series of organized activities administered by a salaried staff controlling a sizable budget, with an established bureaucracy within which individual participants must work. The three types of formal programs analyzed in this volume are services for international students at a large American university (Paul Pedersen), the American Peace Corps (Jesse Harris; Jacob Hautaluoma and Vicki Kaman), and bilingual education programs, or more generally, language planning efforts (James Orvik; Gregory Trifonovitch; Lachman Khubchandani).

Generally, as Pedersen points out, American universities have not utilized the tremendous assets which students from other countries bring to the United States. Likewise, universities have not provided well for the special needs of international students. Since he is a member of the International Student Adviser's Office (a funded, established part of the University of Minnesota), Pedersen is especially interested in students' use of this facility. Based on a survey which Pedersen summarizes, however, it was found that the facility is underused. International students are likely to avoid the established, organizational program and instead depend upon their friends for help during critical times. Some of the reasons for this finding are analyzed, such as students' perception of a lack of international perspective in the university (see the article by Willis Griffin for another analysis of this issue). Pedersen provides some thoughtful recommendations, for instance, the use of the established office to identify and train foreign students as counsellors. Since these students will be sought out by their peers, it would seem wise to help them be more effective in their role as counsellor.

As Harris points out, the Peace Corps has been the most active organization in selecting and training people for an international, cross-cultural experience. He provides a very readable, concise history of the various methods the Peace Corps has used to select the final set of Volunteers from the total number of applicants. Especially interesting to me is the analysis of the decline in the use of psychological tests in the mid and late 1960's. This was a time when formal tests in general came under attack, especially from (1) members of minority groups who claimed that the tests were irrelevant to their unique cultural background and (2) from people who charged that such tests invaded an individual's privacy. A major indication that such tests had passed their stage of unchallengeable measures of "truth" came when columnist Art Buchwald wrote humorous items that closely followed those of the most commonly used personality test, the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI: reviewed by Harris as it applied to Peace Corps selection). Items on the test are marked "true" or "false," and one of Buchwald's was "I use shoe polish to excess." Other items were suggested by various wags: "When I was a child I was an imaginary playmate." When a major psychological test becomes the target of humor, it can also become the target of informed criticism. Harris points that the MMPI was finally dropped from the selection battery for a good reason: it did not work well at designating good potential Volunteers.

The article by Hautaluoma and Kaman examines another aspect of the Peace Corps, the experience of Volunteers during their overseas assignments. The experience of the volunteers in Afghanistan undoubtedly has some generalizability to the experience of volunteers in other countries. The very human emotions of loneliness, discouragement, and frustration, together with elation at occasional successes, make for compelling reading. My guess is that some aspect of this article will strike a respondent chord in any person who has lived and worked outside of his/her culture for a significant length of time.

A major aspect of culture that has come to be controlled by established organizations is the language children of a given country (or area within a country) use in school. "Language planning" is the general term used to refer to the conscious decision making, by recognized officials, in a given country concerning language policy and usage. Lachman Khubchandani reviews such planning in India with special emphasis on education. Especially fascinating is Khubchandani's review of the tremendous divergence of opinion in India and the heated, intense arguments in which policy makers have engaged. An important lesson, that the language people use is central to their cultural identity, is reiterated in this article.

A possible outcome of language planning policy is bilingual education, in which children receive instruction in various subject areas through at least two languages. One of the languages is often the language the children speak at home, and the other is a language of commerce such as English. There are two reviews of bilingual education efforts in this volume: James Orvik for Alaska, and Gregory Trifonovitch for the Trust Territory of the Pacific (consisting of most of Micronesia). Trifonovitch is concerned with the background of decision making regarding bilingual education in the Trust Territory, and he draws from his long experience as an administrator there and from his access to heretofore unpublished documents. One of the conclusions that Trifonovitch draws is that the Peace Corps had a major impact in encouraging a bilingual education policy for the Trust Territory. His review of the different opinions toward bilingual education efforts at different times (over the last twenty years), together with Fr. Francis Hezel's review of the socializing, modernizing role of education in Micronesia, provide an excellent case study for analyzing cultural change. These two articles give a good deal of insight into the conflicts that are inevitable when educational practices, which may work quite well in one country, are introduced into another.

Orvik is concerned with a basic question that will be asked again and again as bilingual education programs become established in different parts of the world: are they any good? Do they lead to increased learning on the part of school children? Just as standardized tests were dropped from the Peace Corps selection program (analyzed by Harris) because they were ineffective, bilingual education programs will likewise decline if evaluation data show them not living up to their promises. Orvik reviews the evaluation program he directed in Alaska, pointing out both successes and trouble spots. Like the work reviewed by Marsh, Orvik's article represents a progress report on long term research. Such reports, of course, encourage the diagnosis of trouble spots (in Orvik's study, one surprising result was the decline in performance of the third grade children) and remedial action for them. Special attention is now being given to the "third grade problem" which Orvik identified.

Analysis of Central Concepts and Issues

This fourth category, analysis of central concepts and issues, can admittedly be a hodgepodge for articles that do not fit well into the other categories. My feeling, however, is that three articles in this volume are different from the others and warrant this additional category. These articles are by Willis Griffin on international education; Fr. Francis Hezel on the history and effects of education in Micronesia; and Larry Smith on English language teaching in Asia. They have the common element of attempting to look at general trends in a variety of programs and educational efforts, not focusing on one or two. In effect, the authors step back and attempt to see general issues in an overgrown thicket of specific problems in specific areas.

Willis Griffin reviews efforts to incorporate an international perspective into American colleges and universities, pointing out the benefits and (in his postlude) the practical considerations which make such a perspective difficult to obtain. I hope that readers are willing to force themselves through Griffin's admittedly thick prose as his ideas are well worth careful consideration. Fr. Hezel, the principal of a major High School in Micronesia, looks at the history of various administrations by various countries in Micronesia, and points out the inevitable result of an imposed educational system, for instance, from the United States. He concludes that people going through the system will not necessarily be Micronesian in attitudes and behavior when they emerge from the system. Larry Smith, drawing from his experiences in organizing and carrying out long term programs for teacher educators and educational administrators, reviews the overwhelming problems faced by English language teachers in Asia. He provides specific insights into the problems of time, money, personnel, methods, and materials. Like Fr. Hezel, Smith reminds us that certain techniques may work satisfactorily in one country (such as the audio-lingual teaching method or the use of language labs), but they may have disastrous effects in another country.

All of the authors in this volume are in a similar situation to that described by Smith: they are involved in programs combining culture and learning, realize the enormous problems, know that the half-time score is against them, but nevertheless are willing to face tomorrow because of the excitement of the field and because the path to success may become a little clearer if they continue their efforts.

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Richard W. Brislin

THE HOUSE FORM AS A CORNERSTONE OF CULTURE

STEPHEN BOCHNER
VISITING RESEARCHER
CULTURE LEARNING INSTITUTE
EAST-WEST CENTER
and
UNIVERSITY OF NEW SOUTH WALES
SYDNEY, AUSTRALIA

Cultural Diversity and Western-Style Housing

In a previous volume of Topics in Culture Learning, I presented a theoretical analysis of and a justification for cultural diversity (Bochner, 1973). In that paper, I described some of the major influences behind the global diffusion of western culture, and speculated about the probable long term consequences for mankind of the world becoming culturally homogeneous. I concluded that the disappearance of inter- and intra-cultural differences would be undesirable. Certainly, the absence of cultural differences might reduce somewhat the incidence of interpersonal conflict, and elevate the material standard of some of those people who are now living in a state of (relative) poverty. But these short term advantages would be outweighed by the gradual loss of variability in approaching the future. Not only would such a world be a very dull place to live in, but putti[illegible] all one's cultural eggs in the one basket would be dangerous. It could just happen that [illegible] particular solutions that emerged from such a single world culture were the wrong ones, in which case the absence of any viable alternative life styles would enda[illegible] survival of the species itself. It recognized, however, that the universal spread o[illegible] technology, in one form or another, was probably inevitable. But, this do[illegible]ean that cultural preservation is a lost cause.

In principle it is possible to harmonize imported technologies with established cultural ways. In practice, alien technologies tend to be introduced in their original, unmodified forms, and the social systems of the recipient country are expected to adapt to the machines, procedures and products that have been brought in. Rarely is the imported technology made to fit into existing cultural patterns and arrangements, even though, almost in all cases, it would have been feasible to engineer such an accommodation between the innovation and the recipient society. Thus, we must conclude that the major obstacle to cultural preservation is psychological, and not material or economic.

The subject of the present paper is one specific technological system, western style housing. The western house form seems to be spreading rapidly across the globe, whether one is considering private dwellings for individuals and groups, enclosed office, factory, and other work places, or public settings such as parliament houses, museums, and theatres. Our particular concern is with the private dwelling or family home. Throughout the non-western world one can begin to see the mushrooming of family dwellings designed along trans-atlantic lines. This intrusion of western architecture has been fueled by well-meaning but culturally insensitive attempts to provide low cost housing in locations where there is an undeniable housing shortage. What then is the objection to providing an Asian street dweller with a two bedroom 1-1/2 bath cottage? There are three answers that can be given to that question.

The first answer is very simple. There is nothing wrong with this idea, and the sooner we can mass produce millions of such units for the millions of shelterless poor throughout the world, the better off mankind will be.

The second answer takes as a point of departure the intracultural parallel to low cost housing for Asia: the so-called slum clearance programmes of western cities. The usual pattern in "urban renewal" is for people dispossessed by highways and office buildings, to be re-housed in low cost high rise apartments. We now have enough experience to know what it is that is wrong with taking a European family out of a rat infested slum and providing it with such a two bedroom 1-1/2 bath apartment. The new accommodation may come complete with hot and cold running water, electricity, laundries and all the rest of the modern conveniences of middle class living, but there are no old friends to gossip with, no one to look after the children if mum is away or sick, jobs and relatives are usually a long distance away, and there is nothing to do all day other than watch television. (For a review of the literature, and a classic case study of a housing project that atomized informal social networks, see Yancey, 1971). The planners who raze slums forget that they are disrupting social relations that may have taken several generations and decades to develop, and the public leaders who deplore the growing lack of neighbourliness and community involvement do not seem to realize that "community spirit" is dependent on people developing and maintaining mutual bonds over a reasonable length of time, in physical settings supportive of informal social interaction. The picture of western slum clearance that is emerging should make us very cautious about employing the same model to low cost housing in Asia.

The Vernacular House Form as an Expression of Culture

There is a third answer to the question of what is wrong with the global diffusion of the western house form. This answer is not often heard, although it strikes at the very core of the problem, being based on considerations of cultural preservation. The main thrust of the present paper is to draw attention to the consequences, for the culture as a whole, of changes in the vernacular house form. Our central thesis is very simple: The core of any culture is its family structure. Probably the variable that differs most between cultures, but at the same time has the smallest within-culture variance, is the family. The family can therefore be thought of as a touch stone in cross-cultural comparisons. Although this has been obvious to a great many scholars, not much attention has been directed toward the form of the dwelling that houses the primary group in different cultures. The notable exception is the work of Rapoport (1969, 1972), who has made a systematic comparison of house forms around the world. His thesis, and that of the present paper, is that there is a direct link between the built environment and culture, in the sense that the form of the built environment can be either supportive or destructive of the life styles and value systems of the people that inhabit it. A problem with this formulation is that the term "built environment" has a very slippery meaning. That is why in the present paper we have deliberately restricted our discussion to a specific environment that can be operationally defined and which has functional equivalence across cultures, namely the physical layout of the dwelling that houses the primary group.

It is our thesis that the house form of the family unit provides a setting in which specific cultural life styles are expressed. Traditional (vernacular) house forms thus not only reflect the culture in which they occur, but are necessary to that culture's continuing expression.

It therefore follows that cultural preservation is closely connected with the preservation of traditional house forms. If the vernacular architecture succumbs to outside influences, the existing culture could be under serious threat, because it may no longer be possible, or extremely difficult, to play out those core primary group activities that function as cultural cornerstones.

'Primary Group,' 'House Form,' and 'Vernacular Architecture'

In the previous discussion three terms were used which may need further elucidation. I used the term 'primary group' rather than family, because in the minds of too many people the term 'family' is synonymous with mother, father and 2.3 children, ignoring that there are cultures where the family concept is used to include many more individuals than that. Second, I used the term 'house form,' by which I mean the physical arrangement of the facilities. I include in this notion not just the layout of the internal spaces, but also the relationship of the dwellings to each other, so that both internal and contextual effects are being considered. I am not concerned about the materials out of which the houses are built. For the purposes of the present argument it is unimportant if traditional materials such as wood or fibre are replaced by particle board or alloy metal, as long as the physical shapes remain appropriate to the cultural functions that they envelop.

The third term that was introduced earlier was the application of the adjective 'vernacular' to the description of housing. This refers to the typical or modal dwelling of the typical or modal family, and has universal application in all cultures, not just the exotic. Buildings in the vernacular tradition represent the main stream of society, and are designed (and in many cultures also constructed) by the occupants, with little outside or expert help. Vernacular architecture is often distinguished from so called monumental and/or aesthetic architecture, where the main aim is to create a beautiful form that will, or so it is sometimes unkindly alleged, immortalize the architect who designed the structure. Without wishing to get enmeshed in this particular controversy, the city of Sydney provides an excellent example of both vernacular and monumental architecture. As you fly in over the city, spread beneath you are literally millions of near-identical brick cottages, each with a red tiled roof. These houses may be ugly, totally uninspiring, and architectural monstrosities, but a majority of the 'main-stream' population live, procreate, and die in one of these structures vernacular to the Sydney region. The visitor will also get a view from his airplane of the Sydney Opera House, probably the modern world's best example of monumental architecture. It was conceived by a cultural outsider for a function (grand opera) that has no indigenous roots, was built by a whole bevy of experts, used many non-indigenous materials, required for its realization technologies and building skills that had to be imported, and at one stage in its construction the creative urge so overwhelmed the designer that he was accused of placing the functional goals of the building second to the search for the perfect shape. Apparently, the Sydney Opera House was within an ace of becoming the world's largest, most beautiful and expensive outdoor sculpture. Vernacular architecture, by contrast, is centrally concerned with function. The vernacular house form thus refers to the typical family dwelling--typical in the sense of being the most frequent design, and also typical in the sense of embodying characteristic cultural ways.

An Example of the Culture-House Form Problem

I first became personally aware of the culture-house form problem when I was on a field trip in Central Australia in the late nineteen-sixties. I was at the time conducting psychological research among tribal Australian aborigines. The group with which I was working were still leading largely traditional lives. They were living out in the open, in camps with a minimum of shelter and under conditions which to western eyes must have seemed appalling. The government, from the best of motives, had responded to this situation by building a series of small but otherwise well equipped cottages. The aim was to attract these tribal people to live under more "civilized" conditions, but the experiment was not a success. The houses were mostly empty, and occupancy was intermittent even when a particular dwelling had a nominal tenant. One cannot ascribe this lack of enthusiasm on the part of the aborigines simply to the inappropriateness of using concrete, brick and tiles as construction materials for unairconditioned dwellings in the Central Australian desert, since most of the houses in nearby bustling Alice Springs were similarly constructed. The more plausible hypothesis was that the traditional western house form did not fit a life style where, for instance, periodically and in a complex temporal and seasonal pattern old men, young men, old women, young women, and children are segregated from each other, and at other times congregate under strict and complex rules of protocol; where a family does not consist of a father, mother, and 2.3 children; where the men do not leave their houses daily to go to work, where the children do not go daily to school, and where the women do not go to the local store for supplies. In fact, one could think of nothing less appropriate to the traditional life style of these people, than a row of detached cottages, with all of the assumptions about nuclear families in an industrialized society that such a built environment evokes. An aboriginal group that does move into such a cottage in such a street is going to find it practically impossible to maintain and conduct existing customs, interpersonal forms, and religious practices. It is almost certain that very soon, the group will slip into behaviors allowed and shaped by the setting, and adopt the customs, interpersonal forms and religious practices that go with a house form that is vernacular to the nuclear family in industrial society.

We are thus led to the conclusion that cultural preservation is inextricably bound up with the stability, or at least the orderly development of traditional house forms. But it is very difficult to provide direct empirical support for this proposition, because of the practical limitations of conducting rigorous experiments that would test the hypothesis. It would, for instance be very difficult to randomly assign one group say of Javanese to a low cost housing project designed along vernacular lines, assign a control group to a comparable western-designed housing complex, and then monitor the psychological effects of these manipulations over perhaps a decade. Sometimes, of course such experiments occur naturally, but even then there are usually too many confounding factors to prevent an unequivocal conclusion to be drawn.

A Study of the Culture-House Form Problem

In what is to follow, I will be describing and illustrating with data one approach to the culture-house form problem. The method consists of schematically reproducing the vernacular house form of several different cultures. The drawings employ a standardized set of elements, thereby making them comparable across cultures. We then relate each of the house forms to a standardized set of psychological variables such as attitudes to privacy, male-female relationships, or norm enforcement. Finally, we ask for each culture, what changes in behavior and values, if any, would occur if the vernacular house form were to succumb to a western model. Although we would not wish to claim that this approach is methodologically equivalent to that of an actual experiment, at least the conclusions are a little more compelling than if they had been reached simply on the basis of unsupported speculation.

Procedure

I asked informants from six cultures to draw the vernacular form of the interior layout of a typical traditional dwelling in their society. The six societies were, respectively: China, Japan, Thailand, Sarawak, Ponape, and Navajo.[1] To enable more precise comparisons to be made, the house forms were redrawn in terms of one common set of elements.[2] The six standardized drawings are reproduced in Figure 1. Each house form was then analyzed in terms of some of the major psychological and socio-cultural factors that were supported by it. The analysis was based on a common set of psychological variables, to enable cross-cultural comparisons to be made.

In the present report, only some of the many possible psychological variables were considered. The cake of socio-cultural experience can be sliced up in a variety of different ways. If we were to exhaustively cover all aspects of behavior, we would swamp our audience with data, and dilute the impact that a few well chosen examples can make. However, since all of the primary information is displayed in Figure 1 the reader can, if he so wishes, apply his own set of psychological categories to the house form data.

Results

Interpreting a picture of someone's house is a little like looking at a Rorschach ink blot--it encourages all kinds of idle speculation. To minimize the intrusion of observer-bias, a conservative approach to the data was adopted. I decided to cover only very basic cultural dimensions, and all the conclusions are deliberately couched in tentative terms.

China

The traditional social organization of Chinese culture is reflected in the central position occupied by the ancestor shrines, which symbolize the values of reverence for the past, old age, and historical continuity. The position of parental authority is clearly defined by the layout of the rooms. Married sons occupy specific quarters by virtue of their birth order, underlining further the hierarchical family structure, and the relative status of males and females. Attitudes to privacy, bathing, and excretion can be inferred from the plan as being similar to those prevailing in western culture.

A traditional family residing in a western house would probably be able to maintain and express most aspects of Chinese culture, through the symbolic manipulation of the physical environment. This flexibility in cultural expression is probably the reason why Chinese culture has remained so robust throughout the world, despite major changes in the vernacular architecture of Chinese cities (e.g., Singapore and Hong Kong).

Japan

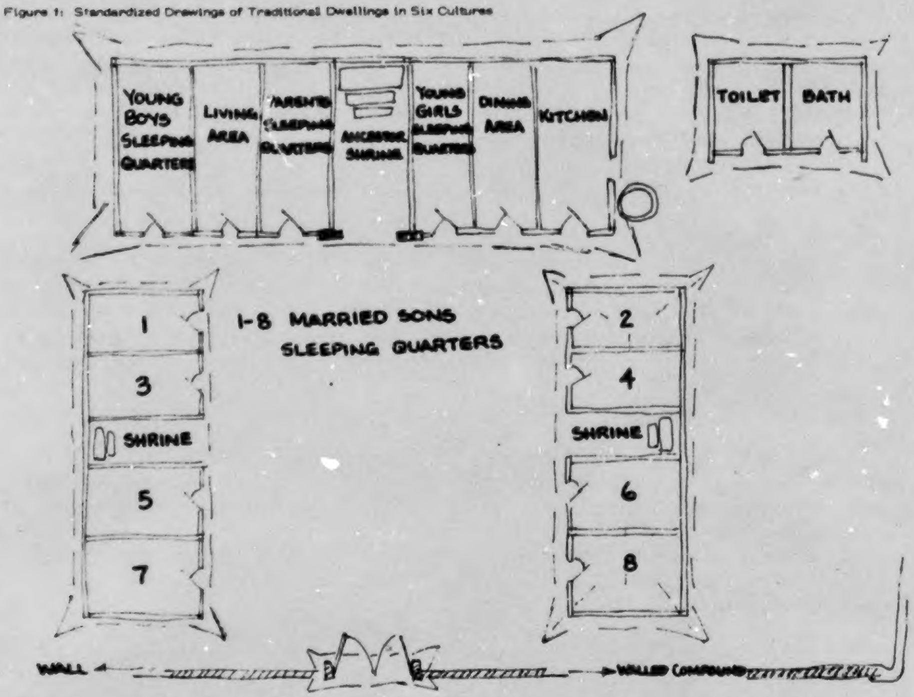
In comparison to Chinese culture, the physical setting for Japanese family life seems to be far less formally structured. Traditional Japanese houses contain a minimum of furniture, and most activities are carried out on mats on the floor. The dividing walls are constructed out of very flimsy material, so that although visual privacy can be maintained, people are generally able to hear each other's activities. Family life centers around the fireplace, where each person has his assigned place. A Japanese family would have very little difficulty in continuing its traditions in a western-style house, provided that they could remove the furniture, install a traditional fire-place structure, and make minor modifications to the bathroom.

Thailand

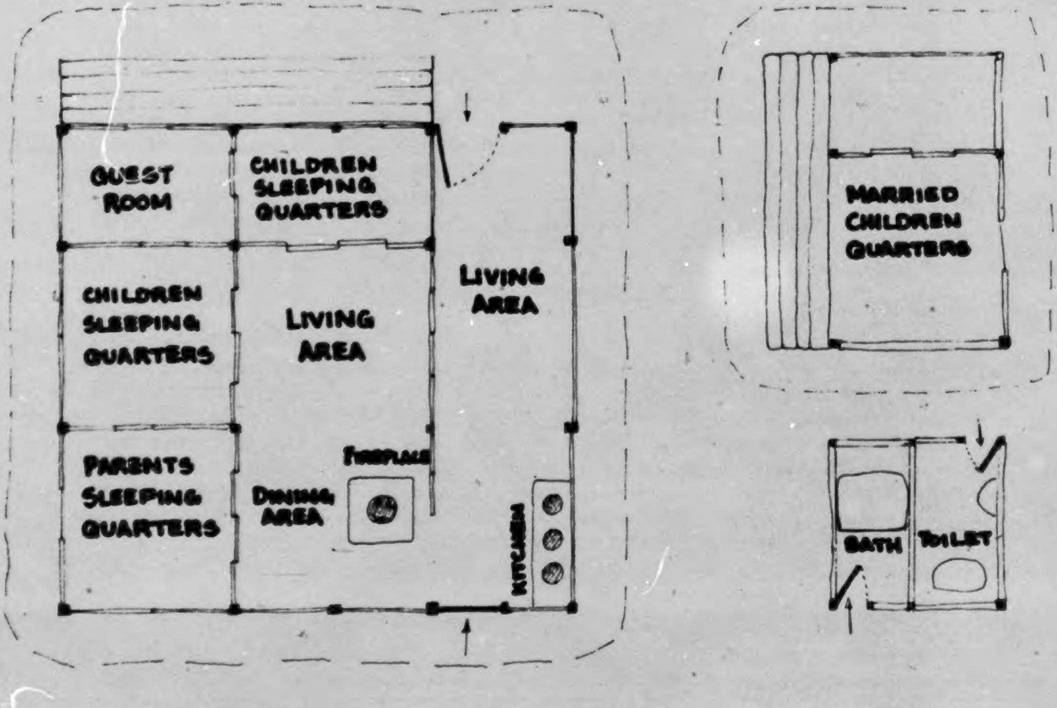
Thai vernacular architecture reflects a rural society with a relatively low degree of occupational role differentiation. The house provides quarters for the family, but also functions as a storage complex for grain, and has shelter underneath for cows, chickens, and other domestic animals. The Thais symbolize their reverence for spiritual values by the mandatory inclusion of a spirit house in every home. As in Japanese architecture, Thai houses have visual but not auditory privacy. Houses nearby are usually owned by relatives, a system of land tenure that is very supportive of a social organization based on the extended family system. The vernacular Thai house has no bathroom. Bathing and excretion are performed in a nearby river or canal.

Traditional Thai culture would not find western housing very supportive. The extended family system would suffer under the fragmentation into isolated dwellings, and the agrarian

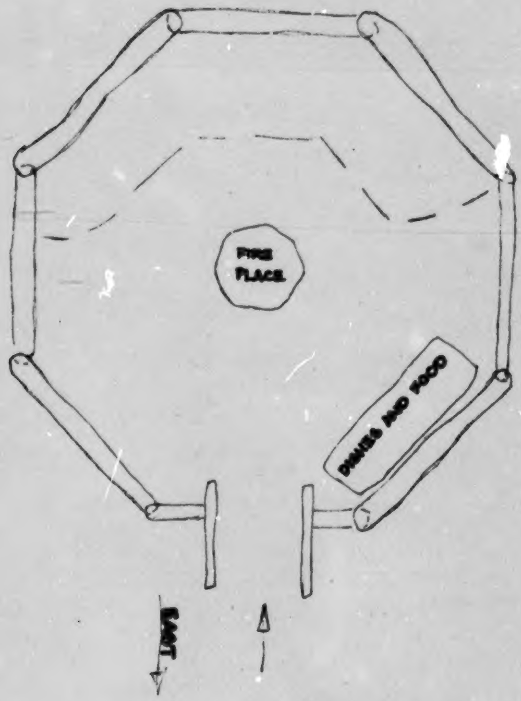
Figure 1: Standardized Drawings of Traditional Dwellings in Six Cultures


YOUNG BOYS SLEEPING QUARTERS
LIVING AREA
PARENTS SLEEPING QUARTERS
ANCESTOR SHRINE
YOUNG GIRLS SLEEPING QUARTERS
DINING AREA
KITCHEN
TOILET
BATH
1-8 MARRIED SONS SLEEPING QUARTERS
1
2
3
4
SHRINE
SHRINE
5
6
7
8
WALL
WALLED COMPOUND

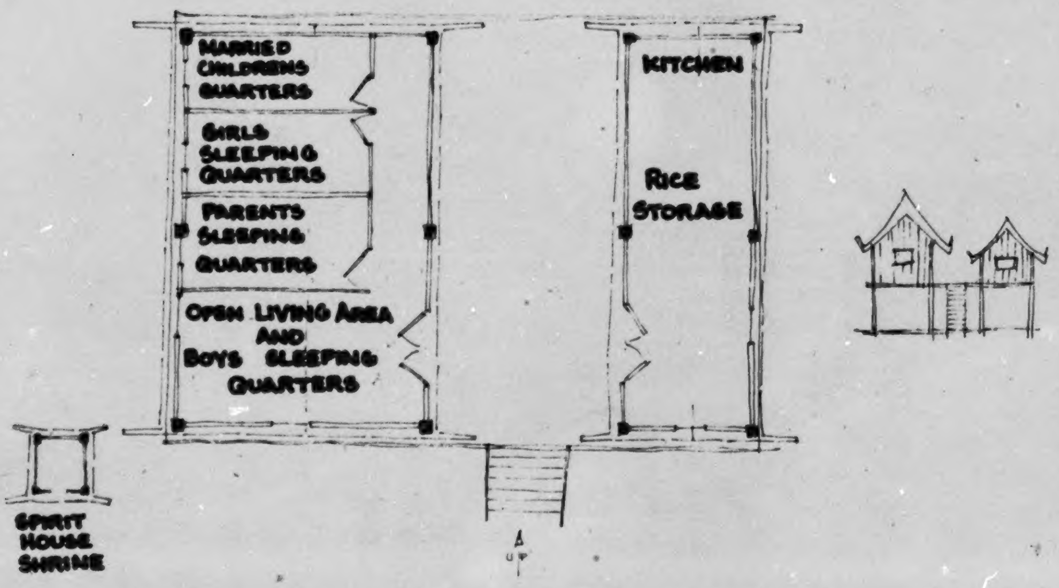
CHINA


GUEST ROOM
CHILDREN SLEEPING QUARTERS
CHILDREN SLEEPING QUARTERS
LIVING AREA
LIVING AREA
PARENTS SLEEPING QUARTERS
FIREPLACE
DINING AREA
KITCHEN
MARRIED CHILDREN QUARTERS
BATH
TOILET

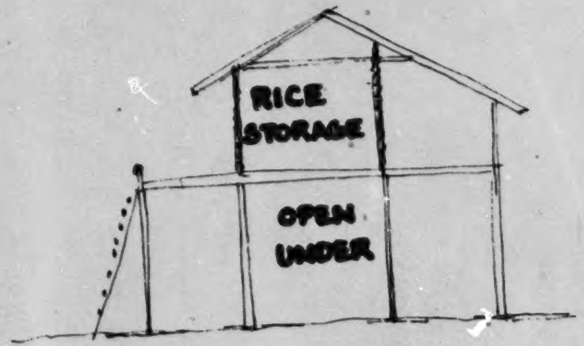
JAPAN

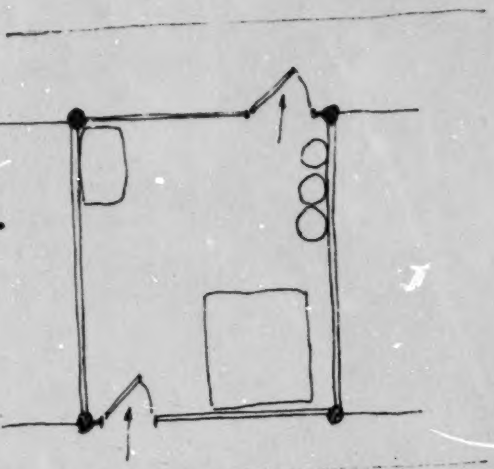

FIRE PLACE
DISHES AND FOOD
EAST

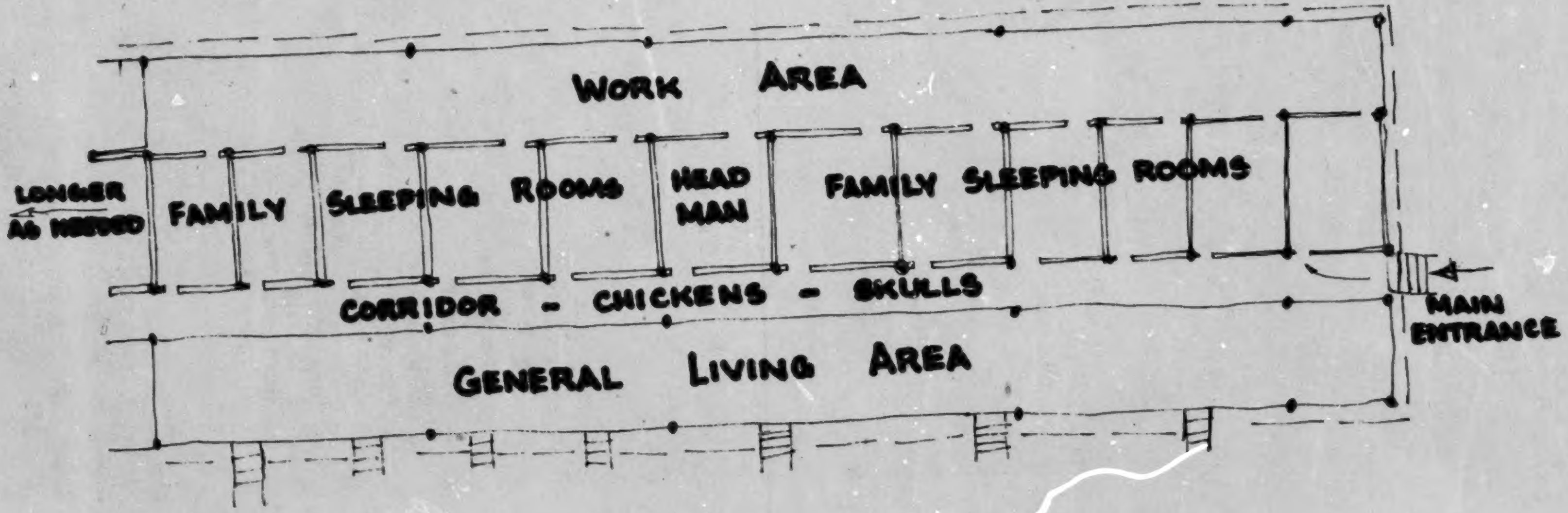
NAVAJO


MARRIED CHILDRENS QUARTERS
GIRLS SLEEPING QUARTERS
PARENTS SLEEPING QUARTERS
OPEN LIVING AREA AND BOYS SLEEPING QUARTERS
KITCHEN
RICE STORAGE
SPIRIT HOUSE SHRINE
UP

THAILAND

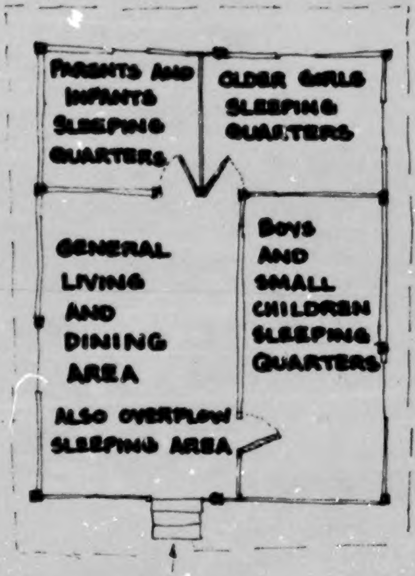

RICE STORAGE
OPEN UNDER


TYPICAL FAMILY UNIT

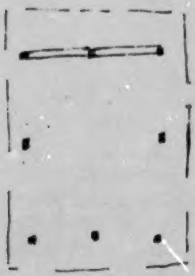

WORK AREA
LONGER AS NEEDED
FAMILY SLEEPING ROOMS
HEAD MAN
FAMILY SLEEPING ROOMS
CORRIDOR - CHICKENS - SKULLS
MAIN ENTRANCE
GENERAL LIVING AREA

SARAWAK

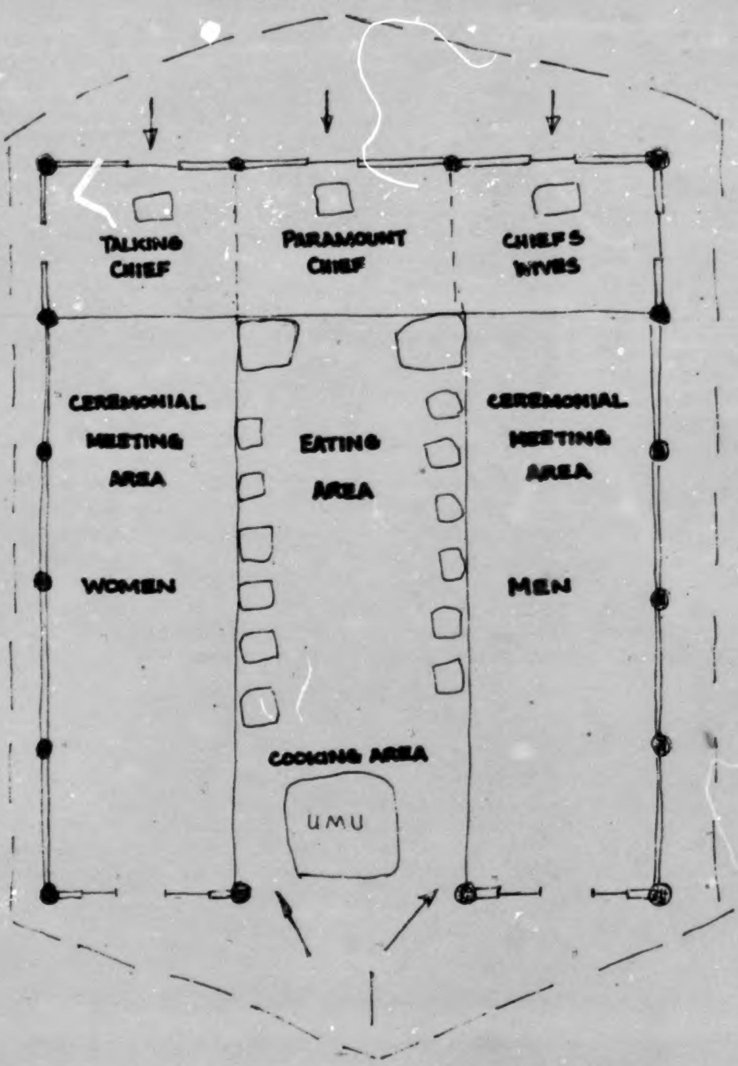
DWELLING HOUSE


PARENTS AND INFANTS SLEEPING QUARTERS
OLDER GIRLS SLEEPING QUARTERS
GENERAL LIVING AND DINING AREA
BOYS AND SMALL CHILDREN SLEEPING QUARTERS
ALSO OVERFLOW SLEEPING AREA

COOK HOUSE



COMMUNITY HOUSE


TALKING CHIEF
PARAMOUNT CHIEF
CHIEFS WIVES
CEREMONIAL MEETING AREA
EATING AREA
CEREMONIAL MEETING AREA
WOMEN
MEN
COOKING AREA
UMU

PONAPE

self-sufficient life style would be difficult to maintain if the built environment changed radically. This in turn would have serious repercussions on food production.

Sarawak

The traditional social organization of Sarawak society is completely reflected in and expressed through the physical environment of the Long House. The entire community lives in one house. Each family has its own sleeping room, and privacy is highly valued. General social activities are conducted in the community living area. The leader's authority is symbolized and reinforced by the position that his family room occupies in the center of the house. Group norms are arrived at, communicated, and enforced through interaction between the entire group in the general communal living area. Sarawak society has a low degree of occupational role differentiation. All the work required for the maintenance of the community is done jointly, and those tasks which have to be done on land and under cover, are carried out in the general work area. For instance, the community's fish are dried there. Domestic animals (pigs, etc.) live in the area underneath the Long House. Bathing and excretion are performed in a nearby stream. Western style housing would be totally destructive of Sarawak culture.

Ponape

As in Sarawak culture, the traditional social organization of Ponape society is reflected in and expressed through the built environment. Every primary group has its own private dwelling house. Cooking is done in a separate structure, bathing is performed in the river, and the place for excretion is an outhouse over the ocean. By western standards there is little visual and auditory privacy in Ponape houses, and each dwelling contains many more people than would normally be found in a nuclear family setting. General social activities are conducted in a large, separate structure. The design of this Community House reflects and reinforces the authority of the leaders, whose assigned position is at the head of the assembled gathering. Sex role differences are marked and legitimized by assigning men and women to separate areas. A basic social function of the activities and interactions that occur in the Community House, is to arrive at, communicate, and enforce group norms, group cohesiveness, and role definition.

Probably, Ponape culture could adapt to a western housing style, as long as each municipality contained a community house. Incidentally, the concept of a community house is not altogether alien in Western cultural and architectural traditions. Churches, clubs, lodges, fraternities and the like all fulfill some of the functions of the Ponape community house. However, the unique and socio-culturally crucial aspect of the community house in Ponape is that everyone in the community is a member, and participates. Western "community houses," by contrast, generally serve sectional interests, and usually contain in their charter rules about who is to be kept out.

Navajo

The Navajo Hogan reflects and expresses the very core of Navajo social organization. The Navajo led a nomadic existence, and lived in small fragmented groups. Architecturally this is reflected in the absence of a community house or community living space. The built environment of the Navajo was the essence of simplicity, and therefore is well adapted to a nomadic life style. The orientation of the hogan incorporates in its design the culture's expression of spiritual values. All hogans face east, and the people make an offering to the sun every morning as it rises. The whole primary group sleeps together around the fireplace. There is little privacy in a hogan.

Out of the six societies that have been discussed, traditional Navajo culture is probably the most extreme example of a social system unlikely to survive in a western built environment.

Discussion

Our analysis has revealed that some, on the face of it quite unlikely cultures, are reasonably compatible with a western built environment. Other cultures would just not be able to maintain their distinguishing life styles if their vernacular architecture succumbed to western influence. These findings reinforce the point made over and over again by writers such as Rapoport, that architects and planners must understand the culture for which they are designing. More precisely, architects must in their design, consider specific variables such as the pattern of cooking, eating, and sleeping; concepts of personal space, crowding, and privacy; and the family and occupational structure of their particular clients, and not some universal generalization of the basic needs of mankind. Because even if there were such phenomena as universal human needs, their expression would vary extensively from culture to culture.

A second point that emerges from our analysis is that the perspective of the single dwelling unit is probably too narrow. Useful and interesting as the present data may be, our understanding of the situation would be greatly enhanced if the analysis could be extended to take in whole settlements. The need for such an extension becomes even more apparent when we begin to speculate why some cultures are less able to withstand western housing trends than others. From one point of view, the method that we have been using in this paper, provides us with a means of operationalizing the concept of cultural similarity-dissimilarity. Thus within the context of only the present approach, China and Japan are rather similar to Western culture, and Sarawak and Navajo are highly dissimilar. Why did the data take this pattern? On the face of it, urbanization seems to be the major moderating variable. But further consideration suggests that the urban-rural dichotomy cannot completely account for the data. In many Asian areas, for instance, it is very difficult for Westerners to know if they are in the city or the country, as one is faced with a congestion that seems to be made up equally of humans, domestic animals, buildings, and vegetable gardens. Likewise, many western cities contain large numbers of dwellings which are the conceptual equivalent of the Navajo hogan, particularly in those districts that cater to a transient population. By broadening our unit of analysis to take in larger groupings of dwellings, we may be able to gain a clearer answer to some of the questions that our study has raised.

Third, our approach can be used to describe and compare different cultures, without falling into one of the many pitfalls that this area of research produces. The major shortcomings of work in comparative culture are (for further analysis of cross-cultural methods see Brislin, Lonner, and Throndike, 1973): a) the descriptions are often vague; b) "exotic" cultures are described and interpreted in terms of the culture of the anthropologist; c) often peripheral aspects of a culture are emphasized and central aspects ignored; d) the comparisons may not be functionally equivalent; and e) there is usually an implicit (and sometimes explicit) value judgment made about the relative degree of development, complexity, and propensity of the culture to promote the happiness, prosperity, and self-actualization of its inhabitants. By contrast, analyzing, describing and comparing cultures through a consideration of the built environment of the primary group, utilizes a precise variable that can be operationally defined within each culture, deals with a core aspect of culture, has functional equivalence across cultures, and makes no value judgements about the relative superiority of the different systems.

Finally, one advantage of taking a cross-cultural perspective, is to see within-culture problems in a new light. In particular, we are reminded that the technology of our culture is not static, and that the built environment of our own vernacular houses and work places is altering rapidly. Are the new forms that have emerged supportive or destructive of our traditional life styles? Are the inevitable changes that will occur orderly, desired, and desirable? We will have extracted the maximum benefit of taking a cross-cultural perspective, when the questions that we ask come full circle back to our own cultural setting. It is a truism, but one that bears repeating, that the analogue of culture learning is the figure-ground problem in perception: one cannot really appreciate a culture, including particularly one's own, until it has been mirrored against a backdrop of heretofore unimagined diversity. Which is perhaps the ultimate argument in favour of cultural preservation: if the world contained only one culture, the sensibilities of people toward their life styles would be greatly reduced, since there would be no reference point for cultural analyses. Such a situation would be fraught with danger, because it is only through continuous self-examination that mankind can avoid the fate of the frog who inadvertently jumped into a pot of water that was slowly being heated. The frog, whose system adapted to the imperceptively changing circumstances, did not realize what was happening until the water and he both came to the boil. But by then it was too late.

FOOTNOTES

[1] The six informants were respectively: Chia-Pu Chyu (China); Akira Nakanishi (Japan); Wan Dechpichai (Thailand); Bridget Barton (Sarawak); Catalino Cantero (Ponape); and Irene Silentman (Navajo).

[2] The artists who produced the standardized version of the drawings were David Cox and Susan Shaner.

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MUSIC FOR MULTICULTURAL STUDENTS

WILLIAM FELTZ
RESOURCE MATERIALS SPECIALIST
CULTURE LEARNING INSTITUTE
EAST-WEST CENTER

Most educators agree that music is an important and desirable part of the curriculum for students at all ages, from pre-school through college-level studies. Here I wish to discuss the choice of music presented to students, and the effect that choice will have on the process of "culture learning." There are many strong reasons of a purely musical nature to include music from a variety of countries or cultures in the school music program, but it is primarily the extramusical aspects which will be considered here: the teaching of cultural values, forms of behavior, and even language through teaching certain types of music.

Ethnic Background

First of all, it is important to include examples from the students' own musical traditions, no matter what their ethnic background. This of course poses problems in a school system where a mixture of cultures is represented in the student body,[1] and it implies there cannot be one set repertoire for the whole world, or even a large country.

Children can understand their own cultural background better, and have a stronger sense of cultural identity, if they know something about their ancestors' performing arts, such as music, drama, and dance. In the United States, for example, American folk traditions should be included as well as the "serious" or "classic" styles. Bluegrass, blues, and even popular genres such as rock should be included. Music used as a vehicle for communicating an idea can be a genre the students are already sold on, and the idea will be much easier to sell. And if students are already familiar with certain types of music in the curriculum, they can be relied upon to contribute more to class discussion.

The danger of children growing up without a sense of pride in their own culture is particularly great in countries or cultures undergoing rapid social and technological change (see Fisher, 1969). Many participants in East-West Center programs come from countries where, for many years, the emphasis in the school curriculum has been heavily weighted toward an imported tradition, i.e., Western art music.

One of the pioneering institutions in introducing traditional arts in the school curriculum is located here in Honolulu: The Kamehameha Schools for children of Hawaiian ancestry. For years, Kamehameha educators have considered it essential to teach Hawaiian music. The students' intense pride in their Hawaiian heritage is clearly evident to audiences of their annual Song Contests and Christmas pageants. The spirit of competition of class vying against class is overshadowed by the obvious display of pride at having accomplished something uniquely Hawaiian (and the music is Hawaiian even though the process of acculturation is clearly evident).[2]

Another example was revealed to me last year when I visited American and Western Samoa as a member of the Pacific Cultural Centers Project group (see Bickley, 1974). One of the highlights of the trip was a day spent visiting Samoan schools, where Samoan music was an integral part of every day's activities. First, the music-dance activity was unquestionably considered to be fun, and the students looked forward to that period of the day. In the three schools we visited, every student was learning and participating in the traditional music activities, for it was not considered a "frill" in which only "talented" students were engaged.

The students were conducted by student leaders, and the extraordinary degree of group precision is documented on tape recordings made by Culture Learning Institute participants. In addition music performance was integrated with the teaching of the 'ava ceremony, the teaching of respect for elders, and the teaching of traditional oratory, all of which remain significant in Samoan society today. All songs and ceremony were in the Samoan language. Not surprisingly, after such an impressive group endeavor the participants exhibited no lack of cultural pride.

One note of caution concerning "tokenism:" simply because there are children of, say, Korean ancestry in the class does not mean it is sufficient to play a record of Korean music. It is very important that the teacher approach it with the same degree of thoroughness that he presents "regular" music (the other musical styles in the curriculum), that is, as a viable and valuable artistic product (Trimillos, 1972: 74). While it is important to discuss the social and cultural ramifications of the music, it would be a mistake to discuss those aspects only in reference to exotic musics, embarking on a more musicological discussion only when you get to the "good" or "serious" music. All music genres are worthy of musical analysis. Students will be very quick in sensing musical tokenism.

At the same time, some music educators are recommending a more ethnomusicological approach towards the teaching of the Western music repertoire, with some attention paid to its functions in societies (Tait, 1975).

Geographic Location

Secondly, local music, both present and past, needs to be included in the schools. In Hawaii's schools, for example, it is imperative to teach Hawaiian music--modern 'ukulele and choral forms as well as ancient chant and Pre-European hula styles. In using the older forms of music and dance, the teacher is able to acquaint students with social values in ancient Hawaiian culture. For example, it will become immediately apparent that there was strict social stratification; all had their place. Songs were composed by individual musicians, but they were dedicated or presented to an alii (member of the chiefly caste) like objects, and became his property. Lower castes had their distinctive musical styles, too.

If the teacher discusses these extramusical considerations in addition to teaching the chant melody and the hula movements, a stronger case can be made that music is not a "frill." A wide range of disciplinary content is being taught during the hour set aside for "music." The oli chants and the texts of the mele hula dances can be a valuable aid in teaching Hawaiian language, and students may not even be aware that they have been in a language class at all. The poetry of the ancient chants and the hula movements reveal the great respect the ancient Hawaiians had for nature and their sensitivity to the beauty of their island home. Working with instruments such as 'ili'ili (stone castinets), the ipu (gourd), and the kala'au (rhythm sticks), the children gain a sense of intimacy with the same elements that the ancient Hawaiians did. Students will suddenly become aware that they are living on the same ground as the ancients, that they share something real with those figures; they are not simply historical names in a textbook. When students construct their own musical instruments, the effect is even greater.

As another excellent example, in the Philippines educators include music of the Muslim cultures and the mountain provinces, as well as Hispanic and American musical forms.

Foreign Musics

Third, I wish to discuss the importance of including music from unfamiliar cultures. We are all guilty of emphasizing familiar art forms--those which we "grew up with"--in the school curriculum. It takes considerable effort to introduce something into the curriculum which we are ourselves just discovering. Here, too, it is important to consider the social context, not merely the music as a product or object.

For example, in introducing Javanese music, the teacher could discuss the function that the musical example has in Indonesian society: its religious and philosophical implications, historical relationships, relationships with other arts in the culture and nearby cultures, its integration with language (in some cases, the two cannot be discussed as separate entities). Music as a tool for communication can be discussed at many levels, including physically passing messages across large areas of land, as in some African cultures (Herzog, 1934). Music is often an important factor in social protest: every young American should be introduced to the song "We Shall Overcome" as well as the social context out of which the song became popular (President Johnson even cited the song when signing a key piece of civil rights legislation).

Listening to love songs or courting music from other cultures can lead logically into a discussion of male-female relationships in those cultures. And if students are introduced to the so-called "art" musics, such as Japanese gagaku (court music) or European string quartets, musics which are enjoyed by a relatively small segment of a population, discussion can be generated about educated or social "elite" and the concept of "taste."

Thus even in a sociology or social studies course, musical examples, drawn from a number of cultures, could conceivably be useful in stimulating students' interest. It is important to engender the students' respect for other musical systems, and the realization that those other systems are as "natural" or "logical" as our own. The concept that there is no one supreme musical system could naturally be extended to other facets of culture.

One of the primary purposes of education, particularly "higher education," is to provide students with alternatives to their present way of thinking and behaving. One effective method of including ethnic musics in the school is to introduce a concept, and draw a number of musical examples from various cultures to illustrate that concept. For example, to illustrate a discussion of music and religion, it is just as appropriate to draw an example from Korean shamanism or Balinese Hinduism as it is to play a Bach Cantata. Yet many Westerners simply assume that religious music means Christian music. This "conceptual approach" (Trimillos, 1972) to music is especially useful to teachers who lack a thorough knowledge of a second or third or fourth musical culture.

One very real problem is the lack of curriculum materials, but this simply means that the teacher should take advantage of whatever musical resources are at hand. The teacher's attitude and willingness to experiment with subject matter are all the more important when curriculum materials are not well developed.[3] Innovative curriculum materials are being developed now, however. Numerous state departments of education, national ministries of education, and university teams are developing materials for use in the types of programs described here. Hawaii, in fact, has been one of the leading states, and materials are being developed here concerning the ethnic groups represented in Hawaii's multi-ethnic population (Burton, et al. 1974). These elements are available now in textbooks and teachers' guides from numerous publishers, and are being utilized in Hawaii's schools to a much greater degree than even a few years ago (see Smith, 1974).

Musical Considerations

Some music educators in this country feel we already have our hands full teaching *one* musical style, namely our Euroamerican tradition. But introducing foreign musical styles need not mean that we ignore or neglect our own musical heritage. Rather, this type of study can even enhance our understanding of our own tradition, just as foreign language study can shed light on one's perception of his own language. As in the use of a dictionary, an unknown is explained using that which is already familiar (see Tait, 1972: 72).

By introducing the students to other musical traditions, teachers can increase students' sensitivity to other peoples' ways of behaving, and can take a major step in conteracting the cultural intolerance which predominates today. They may even *excite* students about a culture group, in a way in which most of the readers of this volume have probably been "turned on" to another culture.

As in most educational systems, the attitude and skill of the classroom teacher are major factors in the success of the program. A sense of excitement and of curiosity must be maintained. It is not necessary to attempt to engender in the students a *love* for the music, or even a *liking* for it. But we can greatly develop their sophistication so that they can judge the music not simply on the basis of "Gee, that sounds weird," or "I don't know anything about it," if we give them some of the tools for understanding the music. (Trimillos, 1972: 78).

If the reader is convinced at this point that inclusion of "world musics" is desirable, a troublesome point may be *what* exactly to include in the curriculum. There are so many musical cultures, they cannot possibly all be covered or even touched upon! However, if the teacher succeeds in turning the student on to two or three traditions, the student is well on his way to shedding his musical ethnocentrism. A student who has succeeded in "learning" one other culture besides his own often maintains a strongly subjective attitude toward those two cultures (his own and the newly learned one). Some embrace the new culture so enthusiastically they actually reject their own culture. On the other hand, once a third or fourth culture has been dealt with in some depth, once the culture learning process has been repeated, one's cultural objectivity is considerably increased.

A Valuable Adjunct--Performance

In some school systems an important aspect of the program is "making music"--meaning performance. A luxury we enjoy here in Hawaii is the large number of very fine artist/teachers representing many musical traditions and geographical regions. But no matter where one is located, there are a number of resources from which to draw a varied musical repertoire. It is not essential, however, that the students attain a professional performance level in order to achieve the benefits discussed above. The performing must go hand-in-hand with a study of the social context. In fact, a single lesson conducted by a carrier of a foreign musical tradition can teach much more about the social context of the music, about the performance practices, about the teacher-student relationships, than merely reading about teaching methods.

Some are troubled at the prospect of trying to teach in a week or a month or even a year, a musical tradition which has taken years for the "native" musician to learn in his own country. The answer of course is that one cannot attain the same artistic level. But the primary purpose of performance is a better understanding and appreciation of the process of making music in that culture.

There are numerous purely *musical* benefits to be gained by the student's being exposed to a number of musical traditions. Some are concerned that students expected to learn several styles will not advance sufficiently in any one tradition; they wonder if "bimusicality" is really possible (Hood, 1960). It is interesting to note in this context that linguistic researchers are concerned with the same types of problems. At least one study (Lambert and Tucker, 1972) comparing cognitive growth among bilinguals and monolinguals, under certain circumstances, would indicate reason for optimism on the bimusical question since greater cognitive flexibility was found among bilinguals.

New problems will undoubtedly be encountered when additional musical styles are introduced into the curriculum. But educators, musicians, and social scientists are becoming increasingly aware that growing interaction among peoples of differing cultures and changes in people's "world perspective" will necessitate new approaches towards the performing arts in the school curriculum.

NOTES

[1] Textbooks developed by Robert G. Smith for use in the Fiji public schools include almost equal portions from European, Indian, Fijian and other Pacific Island traditions, with a light sprinkling of Asian and African examples.

[2] Kamehameha Schools also has an extention program, currently directed by East-West Center alumnus Ho'oulu (Zanetta Richards) Cambra, of exhibits and demonstrations of Hawaiian music in all public schools in the State.

[3] Two major producers of commercial recordings of ethnic musics are Ethnic Folkways and Nonesuch. Current catalogs can be obtained by writing to the firms at the following addresses:

Folkways Records
701 Seventh Avenue
New York, N. Y. 10036

Nonesuch Records
15 Columbus Circle
New York, N. Y. 10023

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CREATIVE WRITING IN ENGLISH: PROBLEMS FACED BY UNDERGRADUATES IN THE ENGLISH DEPARTMENT, UNIVERSITY OF HONG KONG

HELEN KWOK AND MIMI CHAN
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH
UNIVERSITY OF HONG KONG

> 'As I splashed my way back to the University through the puddles, I thought despondently: "Yes, it's all been said before. There's nothing new to be said about anything any more. There aren't even any new things to be talked about any more. We complain that people are no longer original, that they fall back on platitudes and cliches, but what else can they do? There is no place left for originality; some wise guy has already said everything possible about every possible thing before." And I plodded wearily to my creative writing class.'

This was written by one of the students who have gone through the optional course in creative writing offered by the Department of English of the University of Hong Kong. Her problem of finding something new to say is aggravated by the problem of saying it in a language which is not her own.

The course in creative writing was started in 1970. Students who choose this option are required to produce, during the course of about one and a half years, enough pieces of a sufficiently high standard to satisfy the Examiners. The option is regarded as one of eight 'papers' which the undergraduate must read to fulfil degree requirements. Students in the Arts Faculty take either eight papers in one Department or choose two areas of specialization, taking four papers in one Department and the remaining four in another. The papers are set out in the syllabuses in groups. The creative writing paper offered by the Department of English is taken in conjunction with other papers on contemporary English literature and the structure of the English language.

The creative writing paper is given in the last two years of the three-year degree course. During the first term of their second year, students and teachers meet weekly to discuss the various literary genre and to analyse samples of contemporary English writings. The students' exposure to such writings is of course ensured also by their participation in other courses, particularly those dealing with contemporary poetry, novels, and plays. In the second and third terms they start writing on their own. They may concentrate on one genre, or try their hand at a number of different ones. Their work is discussed by the whole group at weekly meetings.

In their final year each student taking the creative writing paper is assigned a tutor, who sees the student once a week or more often if necessary. He is responsible for giving criticism and advice. The student may be asked to rewrite his pieces, and make corrections before he finally submits them for assessment one or two months before the Final Examination in May.

Every effort has been made to give our students the opportunity of talking to practising writers. We have had visits from Angus Wilson and Iris Murdoch, as well as the Canadian poet, Earl Birney and the Hong Kong writer, John Gordon Davis, author of Hold My Hand, I Am Dying. The Leverhulme Foundation made it possible for us to have N.V.M. Gonzalez as Visiting Fellow in creative writing for a period of three months. A Filipino writer in English, Professor Gonzalez's experience is particularly pertinent to our region and situation. Up to the present time a total of about thirty young men and women whose native language is Chinese have accepted the challenge to write creatively in English, and already almost two hundred short stories, poems, plays, and novels have so far been submitted for assessment by the Examiners. There is now a proposal to expand this aspect of our work, and we feel it is time we began to assess the degree of success we have achieved so far and to examine more closely some of the problems faced by our bilingual undergraduates writing in English.

Background Information

Before dealing with their work we need to describe briefly the linguistic background of the average Hong Kong undergraduate, since this has a bearing on his competence in the use of English as a medium of expression.

The population of Hong Kong is now almost five million. Of this number about 98-1/2 percent could be described as Chinese on the basis of language and place of origin. In the context of Hong Kong a person is Chinese if he or his ancestors originally came from China and if his native language is Chinese. The Chinese spoken by the great majority of the population is Cantonese, one of many Chinese dialects. It is a well known fact that while the Chinese speak a variety of dialects they all use the same written language. Chinese may be written in two styles--'Wenyan', the classical literary style, and 'Peihua', the new colloquial style made popular by the May 4 Movement of 1919. As far as lexis and grammar are concerned, 'Peihua' is based to a large extent on the Mandarin dialect, particularly on the Peking variety. When a Cantonese-speaker learns to read and write, therefore, he has to learn certain features of a dialect not his own. Although in recent times, attempts have been made to reproduce the spoken form of Cantonese, these efforts are confined to journalistic and humorous writing. In serious writing of any sort, it is impossible to reproduce Cantonese faithfully in writing. A Chinese passage read out in Cantonese sounds very different from natural Cantonese speech.

By far the greatest number of primary schools in Hong Kong teach in the medium of Chinese, with English taught as a second language. The quantity of English taught varies from school to school, as does the quality. A primary school pupil who wants to receive an academic type of education may choose to enter a Chinese Middle school in which Cantonese is used as the medium of instruction with English taught as a second language. Or he may choose to continue his education in an Anglo-Chinese school which teaches in the medium of English, with Chinese taught as an academic subject. In addition to using English as the teaching medium these schools also devote a number of hours a week to the study of the English language, and, in some schools, of English literature as well.

There are two universities in Hong Kong--the University of Hong Kong, established in 1911, in which English is the medium of instruction, and the Chinese University of Hong Kong, founded in 1963, which mainly uses Chinese. For over fifty years, until the establishment of the Chinese University, English was considered the only language suitable as the medium of instruction at University level. All entrants to the University of Hong Kong had to obtain a pass in English Language. It was only until recently that regulations were changed, and the English language requirement waived in the case of students taking certain subjects, especially in the medical, scientific or engineering fields. These students may now be admitted without a pass in English Language provided they satisfy their examiners in their respective subjects. It is now up to the various Faculties to decide on the level of competence in English they require of their prospective students.

The University only requires that all applicants for places must have 'taken the Use of English Examination', and not that they must have passed it. The Arts Faculty is the only one which still insists on a relatively high standard of proficiency in English.

Until very recently English was the only official language in Hong Kong. In 1972 Chinese was recognized as the other official language. But the controversy over the medium of instruction, especially at the secondary level, still continues. 1973 saw the publication of the Green Paper containing recommendations made by a special committee on secondary education, and recently, the White Paper setting out the government's policy concerning secondary education over the next decade was published. Among the points made one concerned the very important question of the medium of instruction used in secondary schools. The White Paper recognizes that

> 'Hong Kong, if it is to maintain its progress, will continue to need people at all levels in commerce, industry and the professions who are at home in English as well as in Chinese. For these practical reasons, the standards of Chinese and English must be maintained, and indeed, if possible, improved....'

It then goes on to say

> 'It is the Government's intention that individual school authorities should themselves decide whether the medium of instruction should be English or Chinese for any particular subject in junior secondary forms.'

The issue is far from settled, and the controversy rages on. It is outside the scope of this paper to deal with the question in depth. In any case it is not our intention in this particular paper to examine in detail the many problems inherent in a bilingual situation, nor to give our views for or against the use of a second language in education in general. In another paper[1] we have described the results of a survey conducted to find out about the language habits of Hong Kong undergraduates. A number of observations made in the present paper are based on our findings in connection with this survey. With the exception of one or two students whose native language is English, all those taking the creative writing course have been Chinese writing in a learned language. They have received their secondary education in the medium of English, and by the time they begin their writing programme with us, they have had many years of writing in English in connection with their studies.

Qualities of Creative Writing to Which Students are Introduced

It is stating the obvious when one asserts that writing is an art, and it is difficult to write well even in one's own language. We know a good writer has to have certain qualities, for example, originality, sensitivity, a sense of vision, and so on. We would like to think that at least some of our students are gifted in this way, that they do have something worthwhile to tell us. Most of them can write English which is relatively free from grammatical errors. This paper will not therefore be a complaint about the lack of creativity among our students, or a lament about their low standards of English. Instead we hope to concentrate on the special problems faced by our students solely as a result of their having to write creatively in a learned language, and to assess the degree of their success in coping with these problems. We have chosen not to deal with their poems but will concentrate on their prose works.

The themes our student have opted to work with are often universal in nature, dealing with human relationships and conflicts which may be understood by all peoples. But these themes and ideas have to be made concrete by real characters acting in a real setting. Only one or two writers have used characters and settings which are completely allegorical, where even the names of the characters reflect the qualities they stand for, e.g., Inquisitive, Awkward, and so on. Sometimes the symbolic and the concrete are mixed in varying proportions. One short story entitled Ships that Pass in the Night describes a short meeting between Christina and Christopher, two people who are real but are at the same time types to show how many of us meet once and never meet again.

As soon as the characters and setting cease to be completely symbolic and stylised, the writer must make them seem real to his readers. Among the techniques used to achieve this end are physical and psychological description, dialogue, and action.

We shall see that as far as characters and setting are concerned, apart from the purely allegorical, our students have chosen to create Chinese characters acting in a Chinese setting, or English/American characters in an English/American setting, and lastly--and these are the most numerous--Hong Kong characters in a Hong Kong setting.

Western-Oriented Themes

We shall first deal with those works which have western characters acting in a western setting. Our writers have received much of their education through the medium of English. They have had a great deal of practice writing in English, in school, and also at the university level. They may be said to be competent in the use of the language, in the sense they can express themselves fluently and without making many grammatical errors. But it is not enough to be able to construct grammatical sentences; a writer needs to know what kind of things to say in what message forms to what kinds of people in what kinds of situations. The native speaker has an intuitive knowledge about linguistic appropriateness, and knows when one variety should be used rather than another, but many of our students are not very sensitive to the differences which characterize the various styles. This is shown very clearly in their writing of dialogue.

In describing the thoughts and behaviour of the characters some of our writers show they have only a superficial acquaintance with western culture and mores. Although Hong Kong is westernized in many ways, in culture it remains largely Chinese. Only a small number of our writers have lived for even short periods abroad, and their knowledge about the west has come mostly from books and films. It is no wonder then, when their stories include English or American characters, the students are usually not very successful in making them real and individualized human beings. There are exceptions, of course. We have had a few young women who were very knowledgeable about the ways of the west, because of family and school influences or because they have actually lived abroad. Their work generally shows a competent handling of Western setting and characters. In a set of pieces collectively entitled The Wedding, one writer creates the atmosphere of the excitement and hustle preceding the church ceremony. The women are all wearing smart hats, the mother of the bride is crying, small attendants are having their hair combed--an almost cliché situation made familiar through thousands of stories in women's magazines, through television, radio and cinema. The writer takes care to attempt to reproduce different 'styles' of discourse according to speaker and situation. Parents speak coaxingly or warningly to their offspring--

> 'But you mustn't crumple your new lace shirt. Now Henry, do be a good boy!'
>
> 'Oh dear, oh dear!' What shall I do with you? Won't you ever stand still?'
>
> 'All you have to do is just to carry this tray to the altar, and give the rings to Auntie Lucille and Uncle Mike. That's all. Now if you will promise to be a good boy, and do exactly what I told you to do, I'll let you go to the wedding party afterwards, O.K.?'

Ladies speak gushingly to each other about little Henry,

> 'Oh, what a darling little boy!'
>
> 'Yes, isn't he just too cute!'

The writer also strikes the right 'register' when she reproduces the speech of children.

'Hey, Billy,...I got a - a new sister.' He tried to sound casual.

'So?'

'A N-E-W sis-ter.'

'So? I got two sisters, one brother. And what's so good about sisters? They won't play leap-frog with you.'

Grown-ups talk 'baby talk' when addressing Henry's new sister,

'Yoo - hoo! baby!'

'Hey, hey! Sweetie! Here are your uncles and aunties come to see you. Now, now don't cry.'

But they change their style when addressing the baby's father,

'So here's the happy father! Congratulations, Nick!'

'Nick you lucky man! I envy you.'

In a long autobiographical piece entitled Canadian Summer another young woman recounts her summer in Canada with her Canadian fiancé. Of course, here is much more than a nodding acquaintance with western ways. Her ability to produce convincing dialogue is a tribute to her abilities as a creative writer as well as her powers of observation and of listening.

But even in some of the best of the pieces with a western setting, slips do occur, especially in the manipulation of dialogue. In The Wedding, the mother tries to bribe her child into good behaviour with the promise of plenty of food at the reception. But included in her list are one or two archaisms which strike the reader as odd--

'a big wedding cake, sweetmeats...and also dainties of every kind too.'

Rather Shakespearian than contemporary. In a story called The Encounter two modern urban young women meet on a bus after an interval of four years, and reminisce about their undergraduate days. Most of their dialogue takes cognizance of speaker and situation, but stilted expressions, suggestive of nineteenth century old ladies, creep in once or twice.

'Why bless me...' says one when she first recognizes the other.

'You haven't changed a whit.'

'Annie's doing poorly.'

'Going to Europe at this time of the year. I wouldn't relish it.'

At times, the total effect of colloquial chatter is marred by outright grammatical mistakes.

'We had such a ball of time then.'

'Never approved of getting married too soon.'

'Me too.'

In a story entitled Sunday Morning At the Breakfast Table, there is every evidence of the influence of American television, the situation comedy involving a middle class family. The minor sentences, the contractions all suggest a casual tone. But a slightly doubtful note is struck when the teenage son addresses his mother as 'Mummy.' In A Riddle the writer is obviously attempting a Pinteresque drama of non-communication. The setting is clearly western. The characters are also at breakfast but, whereas the characters in Sunday Morning At the Breakfast Table are enjoying such traditional breakfast fare as waffles and coffee, the husband in A Riddle tells the wife 'the soup is good.' In another story with an American background two typical middle class teenagers go to the refrigerator for bottles of iced tea which they drink from cups.

Because the majority of our students lack firsthand knowledge of the west, and partly because they feel they are not really a part of that world anyway, few writers have chosen to write stories with a western setting. Some have tried their hand at writing about Chinese people in a Chinese setting.

Traditional Chinese-Oriented Themes

It is interesting to note that when our course was first started, our students produced quite a number of pieces dealing with the feudal China of a bygone era, of grasping land lords, plotting concubines and ladies with bound feet. They probably felt they would benefit from their 'Chineseness' and make a favourable impression on expatriate teacher and External Examiner. We had one student whose specialty was 'quaint' pieces about 'quaint' Chinese characters, like Ah Ping, the loyal amah. That particular student was a Chinese-American, and her view of China was perhaps more like that of a westerner. But even students born and bred here have little real knowledge of the China of the past. What they do know has come from books, television, films and from what they have been told by their older relatives.

Their plots and characters are, for the most part, stereotyped, though flashes of originality can be found. There seems to be a certain degree of consensus concerning the type of dialogue appropriate to characters like Lotus Blossom and Lady Precious Stream. The most acceptable style seems to be a very formal and rather pedantic one. Take the example of the Rev. Crystal Wisdom, a Buddhist Monk from Shantung, a character created by one of our most imaginative writers so far. Crystal Wisdom is speaking to a believer seeking to assuage his conscience by offering money to the monastery.

> 'Let me tell you, Mr. Chan, you cannot get away from the image of your wife because you love her, perhaps without knowing it yourself. The world is empty. We come empty-handed and we depart empty-handed. Misfortunes are inevitable. The world is empty; no one knows the absolute, which even when present, is incomprehensible. The fire of desire consumes everything. Faith is man's chief wealth. The Dharma leads to weal. The sweetest taste is truth.'

It is of course wrong to suggest that the Chinese language used by Chinese people is the same in every situation. Different styles and registers exist in Chinese too. Unfortunately many readers find it rather 'unnatural' for Chinese characters to use a more colloquial style when they are made in creative writing to communicate with one another in English. That is why most of our student writers prefer a rather artificial type of English, without contractions or colloquialisms, which they feel help to give the language a Chinese flavour. This is particularly true when they choose to write about the China of the past.

This self-imposed restraint on the choice of language restricts to some extent their development of character. For one thing, the similarity of style makes the creation of characters identifiable by dialect or idiolect virtually impossible.

Of course our more witty students are not slow to recognize the possibilities for parody inherent in such an artificial style. One student amused Internal and External

Examiners alike with her clever parody of Han Suyin writing about her youth in war-torn China.

In the past two years, some students have chosen to write about the China of today. But many of our students, a large number of whom have never been outside Hong Kong, are no more familiar with the China of today than they are with the feudal China of yesteryear. And just as their lack of a first-hand knowledge of western ways is sometimes a hindrance to them in their writing of works with an English-American setting, their lack of familiarity with China sometimes does them disservice when they are writing about their compatriots in China. In one piece with flashbacks to life in a Chinese commune, the writer retreats into a stream-of-consciousness technique to avoid depiction of physical realities. In another story, an accountant in Hong Kong recounts his early years in Southern China, and recalls that he used to take naps in the barn amid the haystacks after the wheat had been cut.

Present-Day Oriented Themes

Many of our writers have written about Chinese people functioning in a Hong Kong society, and about their relationships within this society. The ability in English among the Hong Kong population ranges from nil to near-native fluency. The bilingual Hong Kong Chinese almost never speaks to other Chinese people entirely in English, but their conversation may be sprinkled with English terms and phrases: they speak what has been called 'Chinglish.' Although Hong Kong people do not speak in English among themselves, a number of them have the potential ability to do so.

Many of the characters in the pieces with a Hong Kong setting are university undergraduates, whose circumstances are much like those of their creators. While university students in real life rarely speak entirely in English to one another outside the classroom, we can assume that they are capable of speaking entirely in English, and sometimes do. It seems to us that the convention of writing their dialogue entirely in English is particularly easy to accept. The problem, here, is whether the writer is capable of adapting the language of his characters according to 'mode,' 'field' and 'style' of discourse, so that they speak as one would expect a group of undergraduates who are native speakers to speak. This is not always an easy task.

As we have already noted, not all our students have a secure control over English as a medium of expression, and not all of them have an awareness of language variations caused by situational factors. Thus, if the criterion is what the writer believes to be the way a group of English-speaking undergraduates would speak in similar circumstances, the right note is not always struck, and in some pieces, we find the intrusion of words, images, and structures suggestive of the translation method. In fact, of course, when a person writes in a language not his own he can never completely abandon the role of translator. He can onlyuse his own judgment--which will be coloured by his own cultural background--in the matter of linguistic aptness.

In one story, a group of male undergraduates are engaged in conversation. The tone is serious, but colloquial. They are discussing the romance of one of their class-mates.

> 'He met her at a party, and saw her a couple of times afterwards. But he became intoxicated.'

The word 'intoxicated' in this sense is repeated a number of times in the course of the conversation. Unless we see this as the intrusion of the translation method--'intoxicated' from 陶醉 --the effect seems a little jarring. One writer devotes a section of her story to the bantering chatter of a group of male undergraduates, who address one another as 'little brother.'--'Little brother, learn from me....' 'Believe me, little brother.' This would sound odd to anyone unfamiliar with this colloquial, slightly facetious mode of address 細佬 popular in Cantonese.

In another piece two young women who have just taken their final examinations are discussing their future. Their conversation is colloquial and low-key; slang expressions are introduced. Suddenly they disagree in their attitudes to marriage, and the dialogue becomes cliché-ridden and melodramatic. The writer, consciously or unconsciously, appears to change over to the translation method.

> 'But I shall have a boundless future, a future with Charles. I shall create a great future with him. It is all very well to live alone. But don't you get pangs of loneliness? Don't you feel you are drifting, like a lone spirit without a master?'

The result of the juxtaposition of the two conventions is not altogether a happy one.

In yet another piece it is lack of familiarity with conventions of writing English dialogue which creates a minor problem. Two undergraduates are on the verge of breaking off their relationship. Their dialogue is profound to the point of obscurity. In the midst of their deadly serious conversation, the young woman says, 'I waited for them a bit 'cos the way is so long.' The writer is obviously unaware of the inappropriately 'folksy' connotative values of this isolated instance of 'eye dialect.'

In spite of lapses, generally speaking, our student writers do a fairly good job in reproducing the 'spirit' of the speech of their peers. The illusion of reality is sustained. For example, when we read what one character, a male undergraduate has to say about American youth:

> 'Wonder what these pampered American kids want from life. What the hell did they make such a fuss for? The meaning of life? Hm, poor bastards! If they can't answer a simple question like that, then, sorry man, they aren't fit to live! Take a reasonable guy like me. I don't ask a lot from life; a decent job and a fat salary.

we are aware that slang expressions and Americanisms are within his linguistic repertoire, and this seems to help sustain the illusion of reality.

Issues Involving the Background of Characters

So far we have been discussing characters whose background presupposes a proficiency in the use of English. It seems fairly valid to say that no great strain is imposed on our credibility, when they utter English profanities and slang expressions. What about the case of characters whose background suggests a lack of familiarity with the language? Whatever theories they may have about the writing of dialogue, in practice many of our student writers tend to make a distinction between those characters who have the kind of social and educational background which implies familiarity with English culture and the English language and other people whose background is more completely Chinese, as it were. There is the feeling, on the part of some writers, that the language used by those characters who are supposed to have little or no English should be closer to Chinese, that there should be an attempt to produce word for word parallels.

If he adopts this method the writer in effect becomes a translator as well. He makes his characters speak first in Chinese, and produces a more or less literal translation of what they say for the benefit of his English-speaking readers. In one piece, the dialogue of a hypocritical old Buddhist woman is in marked contrast to the idiomatic, racy speech of some undergraduates.

> 'I do not have money I can spare you. Do you think it possible for a Buddhist to lie? Buddha forbids that.'

The feeling that the language used by people relatively untouched by western influences should be different is shared by many readers, most of whom would accept this outburst from an undergraduate character--'What the hell do you think you are doing?'--but would perhaps say it sounds too 'English' and therefore 'unnatural' if the same words are spoken by an illiterate farmer in the New Territories. Somehow it seems less jarring to have him say, 'What are you doing?' instead.

There is, of course, no consensus. Some writers--and readers--contend that the 'willing suspension of disbelief', the illusion of reality, is best brought about by having all the characters speak in the English appropriate to native speakers in similar situations. Thus, in one piece in which the setting is clearly Hong Kong, a bus-driver is made to say on a rainy day, 'Fine weather for ducks!' This may well be what a native speaker of English placed in a similar situation would say, but it is clearly not a direct translation of what a Hong Kong bus driver would say in Chinese. Still, it could be argued that the 'spirit' of his speech has been caught. Some writers feel that if the translation method is used, the result is even farther from reality because it is neither English nor Chinese. They feel that if English is to be used as the medium of communication between the different characters, it should be the sort of English which may be used by native speakers of the language in similar situations. Sociologists tell us, of course, that no two situations are exactly alike, and certainly one does not expect to find identical situations in two different cultural contexts. But there are similarities in the factors which define any particular situation. The writer, then, has to make his characters speak in the way he believes a group of English people would speak in the same or similar circumstances. After all, if we can accept the Wife of Bath and Othello speaking in verse, should we not be prepared to accept Chinese characters speaking the sort of English which is actually spoken by native speakers of the language?

But there are dangers inherent in this method of total acceptance of the convention. The English expression chosen may be too tied to a context of another time and/or of place. For example, the hero of Angry Young Man is a Hong Kong boy doomed to a life in the gutter. Every effort is made by the writer to create a sordidness peculiar to Hong Kong. A discordant note is struck when the boy answers his father's accusations of ingratitude with, 'Thanks? For bringing me up as a drudge not fit to clean the boots of a gentleman?' Dickensian echoes hardly appropriate under the circumstances. Another example comes from a story about a Hong Kong factory girl, A Day in the Life of.... The writer tries hard to evoke the atmosphere of a tiny working class flat, with its Japanese made electrical appliances, its shower in lieu of a bath-tub, and to create a fairly typical Hong Kong family preoccupied with the business of making a living by engaging in such typically Hong Kong activities as sewing sequins on sweaters and making plastic flowers. The total effect is endangered when the girl asks her nagging mother,

> 'What's the use of waiting a whole afternoon for one or two quid?'

One story centres on a Chinese couple, both university graduates, who have just come to Hong Kong. Their entire intellectual training is supposed to have been obtained in China. They are depicted as having no ability in the use of English. The student, in writing their dialogue, chooses to abandon the stilted conventionalized style of the traditional fictionized Chinaman, and adapts the idiom of sophisticated, equivalently-educated English-speaking persons. No effort is made to give literal translations of the way in which thoughts and feelings are expressed. This method is as much a convention as the other of using formal, stylized dialogue. But there are pitfalls. A quarrel between the husband and wife is one of the emotional climaxes in the story, and it seems peculiar that the writer should make it begin with the husband's verbal quibble, based on an English idiom, a comparison which is totally alien to Chinese persons unacquainted with the culture of the English-speaking world.[2]

> 'Why don't we slip off to church after I've finished my ironing?' she suggested.
>
> 'Why do we have to slip off? It's nothing criminal, going to church.... We should go, you know, being so poor.'
>
> 'Why?' She was beginning to raise her voice.
>
> 'Why, church mice, of course,' trying to be funny.

We have already stated that language varies according to situation. Situation includes a variety of factors, which include the age, sex, educational level, social status and geographical origin of the speakers. Of course, the same individual may have a number of different styles to suit the subject matter, the purpose of the communication, and so on. Also he may change his style according to the various social relationships existing between speaker and hearer during an act of communication. We have seen that in trying to produce the language which is situationally appropriate, the Hong Kong writer, writing in English, finds certain varieties more difficult to write than others. Possibly because of a certain uneasiness about a complete 'Westernization' of the dialogue of characters with a completely Chinese background, and reluctance to rely too heavily on the translation method, student writers tend to use direct speech less frequently in depicting such characters than in pieces involving characters with backgrounds similar to their own.

In a piece entitled Marriage, Hong Kong Style, the semi-literate, mercenary mother of the prospective bride is the central character. The whole piece depends on her changing attitude towards her daughter's future husband and in-laws during their first meeting. The writer is fully aware of the importance of conveying this through dialogue, but she cuts down her use of direct speech, using descriptive epithets instead to describe the woman's 'style' of discourse which moves from 'polite but cold' to 'cordial' to 'very warm', to 'positively gushing' as she gleans more and more evidence of their wealth.

Language also varies as a result of the speaker's being a member of a professional group. People of the same group use jargon or 'talk shop' when they speak to one another. As we have seen the central characters of many pieces which have been produced are university students, and our writers are often very successful in their use of the specialized language which reflects their membership in a university community. But they are much more handicapped in the reproduction of the specialized jargon of other groups such as lawyers, doctors, and fishermen. When these characters are introduced, their professions are incidental rather than essential to the plot.

In the case of lawyers, doctors, engineers and so on, our writers are possibly more hampered by a lack of technical knowledge about their respective fields than by the problem of reproducing their 'jargon' in English. The jargon of thieves, gangsters and other characters of the 'underworld' presents even greater difficulties. Most of our students are familiar with the 'jargon' of American mobsters because of the mass media. But their language seems to be so tied to their particular world that transferring it to a different world just does not seem to work. Somehow one finds it rather difficult to believe in a triad member in Hong Kong who speaks like Al Capone or the Godfather. The difficulty of presenting such characters convincingly may be one of the reasons for the rare appearance of gangsters in the pieces presented so far. One such piece, entitled Angry Young Man relies more heavily on narration than on dialogue. Where dialogue is introduced, it is stilted and 'hybrid', an unhappy mixture of a few American gangsterisms and what is basically language written according to the translation method.

> 'You lazy no-good son of a bitch. Why are you not at work? How many times do I have to tell you to stay away from booze and pot? Where do you think those damned things will lead you? You are throwing away your future....'

An effort is made to introduce some local colour, through reference to the jade ring worn by the boss of the gang, and to the 'dai dong' or gambling stall which is one source of 'big brother's' wealth. But the dialogue somehow lets the writer down.

> 'Get your filthy hands off me and beat it. After a life of endless toil, of meagreness, of strict morals, you can't even keep yourself, much less a woman.'

In interviews with our students we find that they feel they must come to some sort of resolution about the dialogue of characters on the fringe. How can they best suggest the 'jargon' of the underworld to English-speaking readers while at the same time preserving the 'spirit' of their language?

Then there is the--possibly even greater--problem presented by regional dialects. It is not only the regional dialects spoken, but attitudes to these dialects, which are important in the delineation of character. Writing about the English-speaking world, one could use Cockney, Brooklynese, or the fronter broad 'a' of the Bostonian for various purposes. There are many Chinese dialects, and, of course, many subjective reactions towards these within the Chinese community in Hong Kong. Dialect jokes and the use of dialect are commonplace in the various mass media. The problem confronting the creative writer writing in English is how best to convey Chinese dialectal variations in English. Should a Chinese peasant from the country be made to speak like a hillbilly from the Ozarks? If not, should the writer differentiate at all between the speech of the peasant and that of his city cousin, especially if the differing origins of the characters have a bearing on the work as a whole? The mind boggles at the immensity of the task. Most of our writers prefer not to deal with such situations at all, either because they realize the difficulty of making their characters credible, or because they are not interested in such situations anyway. The only student who has so far made any reference to dialects at all has to depend on the use of the omniscient point of view to let the readers know that a certain Cantonese woman did not like her daughter-in-law because she was a Hakka and therefore, in her view, a lazy good-for-nothing. The writer makes no attempt to differentiate between the language used by the Cantonese woman and her Hakka daughter-in-law. It would be virtually impossible to have Eliza Doolittles or Uncle Remuses among the characters created by our writers.

Reactions to the Creative Writing Course

We realize there is a great deal more to teaching writing than simply showing our students the accepted conventions of spelling, punctuation, word use, sentence construction, sequencing and paragraphing. It is difficult to assess the success or failure of our course. Some students have testified that they have found it much easier to express themselves creatively at the end of the course because of the imposed discipline. Many found they have benefited from the exchange of criticism and comments. A comparison of work done before the course with work done at the end of it invariably shows the work later has greater maturity. But, then, this type of comparison must take into account the natural development of the student. Still, many have said that their own involvement in writing creatively has made them more aware of the creative processes behind the great works to which they are exposed in their other courses. We understand that the work of the two students who have been awarded scholarships to spend some time at the Seawise University has compared favourably with that of their classmates whose native language is English. In the opinion of Internal Examiners and External Examiners based abroad, none of the students who have taken this option has failed the paper. None, however, has become a professional writer, though a few have turned their skills to advertising and the writing of promotional literature in English.

Before we conclude, we would like to quote one of our students who wrote,

> 'Here is a Chinese in western clothes. He is so silent. He cannot speak well in English. He does not speak well in Chinese. Is there nothing to say? Or is it because he cannot say anything in an interesting way? Perhaps it is simply because he has not got over the bar of language difficulty.'

Many other students and indeed numerous people in the community at large believe one result of attempting to learn both Chinese and English is that both are learned rather badly. Cantonese, sometimes laced with occasional English terms, is the usual medium of spoken communication among our students. However, there is a general feeling that the standard of written Chinese among our students is usually rather low. We have seen how the Cantonese-speaker may find written Chinese more difficult to master compared to his Mandarin-speaking counterpart. Furthermore, if he has received his secondary education largely in the medium of English, he would have had little practice writing in Chinese. On the other hand, his English, both spoken and written, is learned largely in a classroom situation, so that native fluency is rarely achieved.[3] On the whole, our creative writers may be said to have a rather good control over their written medium, in the sense they are able to write English relatively free from grammatical errors. But the kind of English they are most used to is the English used in lectures and academic discussions, in essays and dissertations. While native speakers recognize and take for granted the immense diversity of English, the learner of English as a second language may not be aware that different varieties of English exist, and may not always be able to use it appropriately in different situations. Our creative writers must learn to use different styles to suit different characters and situations. Then also, they have to face the problem of writing about their own culture in an alien language. It is difficult enough to write creatively in one's own language, but when this is done in a foreign language, the problems are multiplied a hundredfold.

Yet, in spite of derogatory comments about the average Hong Kong student's lack of ability in both English and Chinese, some of our writers are also proficient in the use of written Chinese, and could, if they wished, write creatively in Chinese. In fact one or two have written poems and short pieces in Chinese, or have translated from English into Chinese, rather successfully. They have nevertheless accepted the challenge to write in a foreign language, partly to fulfill degree requirements, but also, we have been told, because they feel they may be able to allow non-Chinese people to have a glimpse of their thoughts and feelings, and may in fact be helping to interpret and explain their own culture to the west.

Finally, we would like to conclude by stating that our comments on the work produced so far are not intended to belittle the abilities or achievements of our creative writers. Far from it. We feel that they have set themselves a difficult task, and have acquitted themselves creditably.

FOOTNOTES

[1] See H. Kwok and M. Chan, 'Where The Twain Do Meet: A preliminary study of the language habits of university undergraduates in Hong Kong', General Linguistics, Pennsylvania University Press, Vol. 12, No. 2, pp. 63-82.

[2] Some English metaphors and comparisons are in fact paralleled in Chinese, and these can be more or less literally translated. See M. Chan and H. Kwok, 'Figuratively Speaking: A Study of The Cantonese-speaking Undergraduate's Response to Figures of Speech in Shakespeare', Shakespeare Quarterly, The Folger Shakespeare Library, Vol. XXV, Spring 1974 No. 2, pp. 209-227.

[3] There is no lack of literature on this subject including, for example, Eric Kvan's 'Problems of Bilingual Milieu in Hong Kong' in Hong Kong, a Society in Transition, ed. by I. C. Jarvie in Consultation with J. Agassi, London, 1969. Also, on the topic of language teaching and learning, there has been recently a spate of letters in the correspondence columns written by leading educationalists including those written by Arthur Hinton, Robert Lord, James Lowcock, the Education Acting Group, etc.

RE-ENTRY/TRANSITION SEMINARS FOR OVERSEAS SOJOURNERS: REPORT ON THE WINGSPREAD COLLOQUIUM

HARRIET L. MARSH*
DIRECTOR OF STUDENT AFFAIRS
INTERNATIONAL HOUSE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

INTRODUCTION

Institutions of higher education in the United States have long been concerned for the adjustment of entrants into the life of these institutions. Extensive and sometimes involved "orientation programs" are arranged, more or less effectively introducing newcomers to university life. Recognizing the particular needs of students from other cultures, special efforts are made by some institutions to provide an introduction to American culture and education as well as to the institution itself. In order to aid schools in designing such programs, the National Association for Foreign Student Affairs (NAFSA) has one section of its Guidelines dealing with "Initial Orientation of Foreign Students." In the introduction, this publication notes two things: (1) "From the moment that the institution accepts a foreign student, it assumes...responsibility" for preparing the student to "function effectively, comfortably, and with reasonable success..." and (2) "the newly arrived foreign student should have...long-term, continuous orientation."[1]

But how "long-term, continuous" should this orientation be? How far does the institution's responsibility for the "effective functioning" of the student extend? Does it relate to what he does when he returns home, making the transition from his education in the United States to his professional responsibilities in his home country?

Only in comparatively recent years have there been expressions of concern about the product of American higher education when students return to their home countries to put into practice what they hopefully have learned during their heavy investments of time, money, and--what is more difficult to label or measure--"adjustment energy." Students and trainees sponsored by the United States government have undergone "debriefings" and a few institutions and organizations have sponsored what have been most commonly known as pre-departure activities (e.g., Michigan State University in cooperation with the Agency for International Development, the Institute of International Education, and the Mohonk Consultations). Little information about the existence and content of transition programs has been broadly organized and disseminated, however.

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It was to find out about "where we are" and "where we ought to be going" that a re-entry-transition workshop was convened by the Academic Affairs Conference of Midwestern Universities in cooperation with the AID/NAFSA Liaison Committee and the Johnson Foundation at the Foundation's conference center, Wingspread, October 15-17, 1974. The conference had as its stated purpose the development of "guidelines and recommendations for ways to assist foreign students in the United States to return and fulfill needed roles in their countries of origin."

Because the workshop group was dealing with a concept still undergoing definition, a variety of terms was used, reviewed, revised, discarded and sometimes re-used to describe the re-entry-transition process. As noted earlier, such programs had often been described as "pre-departure," but such a term applied more to the timing of programs rather than to their content or purpose The word "transition" seemed to emerge as perhaps most descriptive of the experience and least limiting in application to a variety of programs. Dr. El-Ayouty's opening address gave added dimension to the re-entry idea by referring to it as a process of resumption, a reintegration of giving and receiving on the part of the returnee.

Three papers were prepared and sent in advance to conference participants: The Establishment of Re-entry/Transition Seminars for Overseas Sojourners by Richard Brislin, Research Associate, Culture Learning Institute of the East-West Center, Intercultural Adaptation: Resocialization versus Reacculturation? by Alfred Opubor, Associate Professor and Director of the African Studies Center for Michigan State University, and An Inventory of Transition Programs compiled by Frank Sehnert, formerly Foreign Student Adviser and currently a researcher in the area of transitional experiences, Southern Illinois University. All three writers attended the workshop. An opening address, "Re-entry and Reintegration," was given by Dr. Yassin El-Ayouty, Senior Political Affairs Officer of the United Nations and Adjunct Professor of African and Middle Eastern Studies at the State University of New York in Stony Brook. Following this, the remainder of the workshop consisted of discussion by six groups of about eight participants each, of three goals which had been set by the conference planning committee:

Goal 1. Development of guidelines for the planning and implementation of national, regional, or institutional re-entry-transition conferences, seminars, or consultations for international students.

Goal II. Initiation of a coordinated national effort to stimulate, encourage and implement the development of re-entry-transition conferences in the United States.

Goal III. Identification of specific problems and needs within the transitional experiences of international students which warrant major attention (such as: transition curriculum, home country employment, post-transition relationships, institutional interest and support).

The report will discuss the deliberations and conclusions of these discussion groups, combining these with relevant excerpts from papers prepared for the conference as well as others presented as supplementary material. A summary of principal conference recommendations appears at the conclusion.

CONFERENCE DISCUSSION

Re-entry: A Problem?

The concept of culture shock, which has been defined as personality maladjustment in reaction to temporarily unsuccessful attempts to adjust to new surroundings and people, has long been recognized. In an article written for Exchange, entitled "Can They Go Home Again?",[2] Dr. Brislin, with co-author H. Van Buren IV, points out that recent research suggests that a person who has been most successful in adjusting to a new culture may be the worst at readjusting to his old culture. Regardless of degree, many students returning home experience a sense of disorientation and strangeness--a kind of reverse culture shock. Dr. Opubor's conference paper referred to this as re-entry shock. Both works agree that such experiences have a two-fold cause: change in the home environment during the period of the individual's absence and change within the individual himself as a consequence of his stay abroad.

Some of the discussion groups expressed concern over using the term "problem" to refer to re-entry experiences, noting that some problems, so called, are normal for any move from role to role. The positive values of the adjustment process must be noted. Dr. El-Ayouty's address warned against regarding re-entry experiences as traumatic, pointing out that this attitude may be subtly paternalistic, based on both a false exaltation of foreign education and misconceptions of the resources of the "Third World."

With these precautions in mind, however, there was general agreement that some disorientation to home culture will very possibly take place and that there is therefore value in providing opportunity for what Janis has referred to as "the work of worrying,"[3] i.e., preparing for potentially stressful events. Whether or not students perceive the potential problems may be another question, however. Brislin's experience in conducting re-entry seminars at the East-West Center was that while many students feel a lack of need for a seminar before it occurs, they are convinced of its worth afterward. Previous participants have written letters following their return, indicating that content from the seminars have come back to them later when they have experienced problems.

An Inventory of Re-entry Problems

As a demonstration that students do indeed anticipate certain concerns about returning and to suggest the general nature of these, Dr. Nobleza Asuncion-Lande, one of the Wingspread participants, shared with the workshop an inventory originally developed by a group of foreign graduate students within six months of terminating their U.S. academic experience.[4]

Inventory of Re-entry Problems

1. Cultural adjustment

    a. Identity problem
    b. Insecurity
    c. Adjustment to changes in life style
    d. Adjustment to a pervasive quality of envy and distrust in interpersonal relations
    e. Adjustment to the localiteness (sic) of kin and friends
    f. Adjustment to a daily work routine
    g. Family or community pressure to conform
    h. No problem
    i. Other

2. Social adjustment

    a. Adjustments from individualism of U.S. life to familism (conformity and submission to the demands of family) in home country
    b. Colonial mentality
    c. Feelings of superiority due to international experience and travel
    d. Lack of amenities which were a part of U.S. existence
    e. Uncertainties in interpersonal relations
    f. Social alienation as a result of foreign sojourn
    g. Dissatisfaction with ritualized patterns of social interaction
    h. Frustration as a result of conflicting attitudes
    i. No problem
    j. Other

3. Linguistic barriers

   a. Adoption of verbal/non-verbal codes which are not familiar to countrymen
   b. Adoption of certain speech mannerism which may be misinterpreted by countrymen
   c. Absence of colleagues who speak the same code as returnee
   d. Unfamiliarity with new forms of communication or styles of expression
   e. No problem
   f. Other

4. National and political problems

   a. Changes in political conditions
   b. Shifts in national priorities/policies
   c. Shift in political views
   d. Political climate not conducive to professional activity
   e. Political climate not conducive to professional advancement
   f. Dissatisfaction with political situation
   g. Observed lack of national goals
   h. Politicization of office or colleagues
   i. Changes in bureaucratic leadership
   j. No problem
   k. Other

5. Educational problems

   a. Inability to reconcile aspects of U.S. education to education in home country
   b. Relevance of education to home situation
   c. Fulfillment of objectives in coming to U.S.
   d. Aspects of U.S. education which are least helpful to returnee
   e. Lack of facilities and resources for research
   f. Wrong expectations
   g. Failure to improve skills
   h. Absence of professional education programs to keep up with new developments of knowledge
   i. No problem
   j. Other

6. Professional problems

   a. Inability to work in chosen specialty
   b. Placement in inappropriate field
   c. Facing a glutted job market
   d. Scientific terminology in U.S. studies which are not subject to adequate translation into the native language
   e. Inability to communicate what was learned
   f. Resistance to change by co-workers
   g. Feeling of superiority due to U.S. training
   h. Non-recognition of U.S. degree
   i. Jealousy of colleagues
   j. Low compensation
   k. High expectations
   l. Isolation from academic and scientific developments in U.S. or in own field
   m. Perceived lack of enthusiasm and/or commitment among co-workers
   n. Concern with quick material success
   o. No problem
   p. Other

The workshop groups felt that Asuncion-Lande's inventory encompassed most of the academic, professional, social, and cultural areas of potential problems. Both El-Ayouty's address and Opubor's paper noted subtle aspects of both problems and their solutions relating to these specific problem areas. Both men called into question the assumption that foreign students would "automatically" serve as change agents upon their return. As Opubor noted, the student may have been specifically sent to acquire specific skills and therefore if he is "encouraged to perceive himself as an initiator of policy, then he is bound to be disappointed, he is bound to experience role shock, and the consequent re-entry shock" which such a discrepancy in perceptions will bring. El-Ayouty, in commenting on the false assumption of instant leadership, pointed out that the newly arrived individual, whether he is native or foreign, is looked upon by society as a "receiver" rather than a "donor."

Opubor's paper went so far as to suggest the inevitability that the foreign student will be "something of a deviant" in both host and home cultures. He concluded: "The most edifying choice for the individual, and the goal of all constructive strategy, is how to make the individual a responsible deviant."

Preparation for Re-entry: A Continuing Process

Perhaps no single idea was emphasized by the workshop groups more strongly than that re-entry transition cannot be thought of merely in terms of the termination of students' academic experiences. It is a continuing process. Dr. El-Ayouty suggested that it starts even so early as the application for admission to the institution. More than one of the discussion groups thought it should be considered as beginning with the choice of the school itself. The suggestion was made that an "itinerant seminar" of educational planners from the United States (host country) visit sending countries in order to explore bases for selection of students, to help train in methods of selection, and to establish contacts for continuing communication. Such a group might also help to clarify, for governments and counseling centers abroad, understanding of higher education in the United States. On the individual institutional level, it was thought to be vital that prospective students be given as detailed a picture as possible of what that institution offers in course work and training.

Once the student from overseas has been accepted and begins what should be a carefully chosen study program, two areas of his experience call for particular attention. One of these is outside his academic program; it is the ensuring of maximum contact with his home country through consulates, U.N. missions, trade or cultural groups, etc. It is obvious that the sending country, perhaps stimulated by either the individual or the host institution, must assume the responsibility for this area. In situations where students from a country are located in geographically far-flung institutions, this requires more deliberate planning than in major metropolitan centers. Such agents may serve the dual purposes of maintaining a sense of reality about the student's role upon his return and serving as a culture link for values which may be lost too easily in the process of so-called adjustment to U.S. society. That link with home may be enhanced, suggested El-Ayouty, if the student, early in his stay, is made to feel a sense of personal responsibility for contributions to his home country based on educational experience.

The second of these areas of special concern is the relevance of the program of studies to the role the student is expected to fill when he returns home. Clearly, tailor-making all programs to individual needs, particularly in large schools or departments, is not a realistic expectation. To the extent that faculty advisers or individual professors can gear aspects of course work or perhaps thesis topics or research projects to the anticipated vocational role, the student may begin here to prepare for his responsibilities. Such a willingness on the part of faculty members is more likely in those who themselves have worked, studied or taught overseas, but their active involvement in programs dealing with re-entry-transition may also give them insight. Perhaps also through guidance regarding the practical training experience, the student may be aided in exploring manpower needs and the consequent job market at home. In any case, the academic adviser, foreign student adviser, or both, must help the student extract principles of utility from the educational experience, or, in El-Ayouty's words, to transform knowledge into transmittable skills. After all, as one group noted and as was vividly illustrated by

Dr. El-Ayouty in the case of a physician who did not have access to some of the complex and sophisticated equipment found in some urban U.S. hospitals, the returnee quite possibly will have to adapt what he has learned to whatever resources may be available locally.

The workshop groups discussed programs of varying length and content which might be held either on campuses or in regional centers, with the former preferred because local programs could be more specific and relevant. A later section of this report deals with some guidelines for such programs. It was emphasized by the discussion groups that preparation for such programs must of necessity identify both the "felt needs" of current students and the actual concerns experienced by those who had already returned home. Another important consideration before embarking on specific plans is the question of whether the potential participants are sponsored or non-sponsored. It was felt that the needs of the former group might be much more specific, while the latter might have a far broader spectrum of concerns, particularly in vocational areas.

Consideration was given to transition seminars which would be held during the semester prior to departure and given course credit. Apart from noting that an outstanding advantage to this approach would be the motivational factor (as well as adding an element of academic respectability), the workshop participants felt that this could not be considered in any detail since it was so clearly a question of local institutional policy. Brislin's paper commented on the advantages of formal credit: "Students can easily adopt the view that since the seminar is not listed as an established entity in the college catalogue, then it should be considered as a second-class opportunity." He suggested that such a seminar might be offered through a given department, such as psychology, sociology, education or anthropology, in the form of directed readings, research or independent study. In order to gain administrative approval and support, seminars would have to be "designed around solid, academic content."

Content of Transition Seminars

What of content for seminars, beyond the obvious necessity of making certain that they are related to actual and felt needs of returnees and the attempt to build them around relevant and legitimate academic content in order to offer credit? Although it was generally agreed by the discussion groups that broadly applicable specific content is difficult to recommend, some general areas may be suggested, which could then be modified on the basis of the expressed needs and specific characteristics of the participants (e.g., level and field of study, sponsorship). Brislin's article in Exchange[5] suggests some general areas of concern. These are (1) family and personal relationships in returning home; (2) issues which would be problematic over a short, rather than a long, period of time, such as readjustment to certain customs; (3) problems involved in returning to, or beginning, a job and relationships with professional colleagues; (4) difficulties arising out of return to non-western perspectives on life. The East-West Center seminar about which Brislin was writing makes use of role-playing techniques. Both he and one of the workshop groups recommended the use, in transition seminars, of case studies from actual experiences of returnees.

A guiding principle for content, as well as reason for establishment, of transition seminars is, according to Brislin, the "work of worry" concept noted earlier. His pre-conference paper posits that "when people prepare for unpleasant, aversive events that could occur in the future, the impact of those aversive events is much less severe than if the people did not prepare. The preparation can take the form of thinking through (or role-playing) what might happen in the future. Such a procedure forces the individual to gather new information, to plan for different courses of action contingent upon various aspects of the future event..."

Another discussion group suggested some rather specific content which would be of universal concern--the process of job application. This would involve information about national needs, how to apply what has been learned to those needs, and how to communicate his capacities to the returnee's potential employers.

One of the suggestions made by a group regarding possible content was that seminars might be arranged either by, or in cooperation with, a professional organization, along the lines of a specific field of study. This obviously would not be a local program but might draw together from various parts of the United States graduate students near the end of their study program. Such a group could discuss topics of common professional interest together with implications for transition. One workshop participant--a faculty member in the field--cited international economics as a possible topic in this category.

A way of determining content for transition is to look at the objective in terms of desired results in the characteristics of returnees. In an article appearing in Topics in Culture Learning,[6] Stephen Bochner theorized that overseas sojourners become more open and broad-minded as a result of their experience. He suggested the concept of "mediating men," referring to people who are able to provide a link between cultures since they understand their own and the one in which they have lived. In an area in which "globality" on the part of at least some in our population seems highly desirable, if not indeed essential, this might well be a goal in transition seminar planning.

In 1957, the late Donald Tewksbury, who was Professor of International Education at Teachers College, Columbia University, listed what he saw as the "Characteristics of a Mature International Person." Despite the obvious alteration in the circumstances surrounding certain items (e.g., number 14) and the somewhat dated nature of some of the terminology, much of his description seemed currently relevant to many of the workshop participants. Dr. Tewksbury's list of characteristics describe the mature international person as one who:

1. Has deep, active, and successful roots in one's own culture
2. Has examined objectively the strengths and weaknesses of his own culture
3. Is eager to consider seriously what other peoples think of his culture
4. Is not too sensitive about criticism of his own culture
5. Is able, in traveling, to identify with other peoples and to listen and learn from them
6. Is not afflicted with a "plumbing complex" toward people in technologically underdeveloped countries
7. Has experienced and passed beyond the stage of "culture shock" in relation to cultures that differ sharply from his own
8. Has personal and friendly relations with a number of persons from other countries on a long-term basis
9. Has international friends in one's own specialized profession or occupation
10. One with whom persons from other countries can be frank and in whom they may have confidence
11. Can discuss other cultures without bringing in name-calling, stereotyping, and extreme categorization
12. Has found "multiple securities" in many countries as well as a primary security in one's own country
13. Is actively concerned with promoting the exchange of contributions between one's own and other countries
14. Is able to discuss the Soviet Union and Communist China calmly
15. Is thoroughly familiar with and actively supports the United Nations and its specialized agencies
16. Is an active member of at least one of the thousand private international organizations at work in the world
17. Has examined his own motivations for being international-minded, and also the nature of his internationalism
18. Has an elementary familiarity with the family of languages and sees his own language as one member of this family
19. Does not wish to make over other people and cultures in his own image
20. Can for the moment become another person and enter empathetically into the thoughts and feelings of other people
21. Finds it natural and satisfying to live as a member of the "family of man" because he has experienced the common bonds that unite people of different cultures.

From all of the above comments, it is clear that whether content is general or specific and whatever may be the outcome of the seminars, the process of planning for them must be the work of more than one individual, department or agency. Input regarding content must come from many sources. The workshop emphasized, as has been noted, the importance of students themselves in identifying needs. Case histories, as stated, would be drawn from the reported experiences of returnees. In an earlier section, the vital role both students and the home government play in maintaining contact was also emphasized. To highlight and reinforce the importance of alumni, one group recommended the development of systematic programs among returnees which would specifically assist transition program planners in learning about needs which have been experienced. The recommendation further encouraged continuing contact with the university and with university personnel traveling abroad. Faculty and staff working or traveling overseas might be able to interview returnees regarding their adjustment at home.

Another source for adding to program content may be the newly-arrived foreign student. Brislin's paper suggested that "if there is overlap between the time periods" when seminars for both the new and the departing students are held, "there can be joint sessions. The incoming students can explain to the returnees how things are back home, what changes have taken place, what the political situation is like, and so forth.... On the other hand, the returnees can provide the incoming students with valuable information, lessons learned from 'war stories,' places to frequent and places to avoid, names of helpful people, advice on academic coursework, and so forth." The East-West Center, the University of Texas and the University of Kansas have planned initial orientation and transition programs to overlap in such a way as to provide for this sharing opportunity.

Several groups reiterated the importance of involving sponsors of students in both the planning of transition programs and their evaluative follow-up. Sponsoring agencies may, for their own purposes, maintain contact with returnees who have been under their auspices. These contacts could be used in cooperation with regional or campus planners to feed in program suggestions based on the returnees' experiences after some period of time at home.

To know what is needed and to evaluate what has been done are perhaps most critical in planning content in transition seminars. In order to accomplish these ends, two further specific--and probably interrelated--recommendations were made by discussion groups. One was that an information network for re-entry/transition programs be formed in order to share processes of program development, innovations, evaluations, and sample programs.

A second recommendation, which perhaps formalizes or structures the first, is that a national clearinghouse be established for the purpose of sharing information on ongoing re-entry/transition programs and their impact. It was felt that this latter project might be most effectively carried out through the organizational connections of NAFSA.

Some Details of Program Planning

Although content is central to any transition program, the effective conveying of that content is critically affected by numerous details which require attention. Brislin's conference paper dealt with many of these, based on his East-West Center experience, and the workshop groups discussed both these and others which seemed important.

The very planning group itself should receive careful attention. Brislin suggested that it be composed of no more than five people for the obvious reason that more will only multiply the potential disagreements on procedure. While keeping this possible result in mind, it is, however, important that several elements of the population be involved in the planning, if only by solicitation of ideas through questionnaires or consultation. Some examples of these may be: student participants, faculty, administration, home and host governments, sponsoring agencies, service groups (e.g., Rotary), multinational corporations (who represent potential employers), and other possible funding sources such as professional organizations or U.S. government agencies. Those who actually serve on the committee may derive a particular benefit from their process of planning together, so they may wish to go off the campus (if this involves a single institution's program) for a day or two in order to develop themselves as a group.

Brislin's paper commented on the implications of the fact that a seminar has to compete with many other activities in which students might engage before going home. The timing of transition seminars is critical, since the motivation of a sense of need is lacking if the program is held too early and minds are distracted by immediate necessities if the seminar is too close to actual departure time. For maximum impact, Brislin continued, a one-to three-day seminar should probably be held within three months of departure time. The East-West Center has found it worth the cost, in order to achieve optimal attendance, to budget three extra days for its grantees to attend a seminar right after final examinations. Thus the pressure of academic responsibilities is off and the final flurry of activity has not yet begun. The workshop discussion groups, in their considerations, reinforced this idea regarding timing.

How long should a seminar be? There was general consensus that length would vary according to content, timing, location, and the nature of the participants. A general rule-of-thumb might be the one-to three-day period suggested above. Some, however, thought a three to five-day period would be better suited to the "work-of-worry" process, in order to allow for the dynamics of the group to develop.

In answer to the question of where seminars might best be held, there was again general agreement that, in the case of individual institutional programs, they should be held at some off-campus location. Brislin pointed out that without such a removal from campus, "the situational pressures of invitations from non-returnee friends, need to go to the drugstore for a tube of toothpaste, and competition from television take their toll on session attendance." Such defections not only detract from the seminar itself but the entire group is affected.

Another possibility relating both to location and timing was suggested by one of the groups. It would have the additional advantage of lowering the cost factor. This was the idea that already existent transition programs be strengthened and used as stopovers en route home by carefully screened returnees from institutions throughout the country. For example, the East-West Center would accept students returning to Asia and the University of Texas program might be expanded to include those headed for Central and South America. There would need to be considerable planning for and coordination of such efforts but this would call again for a "national clearinghouse" or network referred to on page 46.

An alternative to individual institutional programs which would again affect cost would be the use of current colloquial arrangements among several institutions in a metropolitan center. Such a regionally-based program might, in addition to conserving money and personnel, allow for greater flexibility of groupings in the seminar (along the lines of, e.g., originating country or area of the world, professional field, sponsorship, etc.).

The question of structured (i.e., pre-planned) vs. non-structured programs was raised. There seemed to be agreement that some combination of approach would be most ideal. Brislin's experience suggested that it is important not to tell participants about what problems they will have (which would be presumptuous, anyhow), but instead to present material examining the range of possibilities that people moving between cultures might encounter. The East-West Center also has added a session, which is designed for each seminar by the participants themselves, which has little structure. Such a session has multiple advantages. It actively involves the participants and thus enhances their commitment to the seminar. It should help to ensure current relevance. Planning a session can be a useful experience and may help the planners to consider some of the transition issues while going through the planning process. Finally, it can give an air of "relaxation" in the midst of whatever structure may have been given to the seminar.

There are some physical details which need to be taken into consideration in planning. Brislin illustrated some of these and rightfully pointed out that failure in any one could be a "deterrent to successful completion of otherwise well thought out programs." Transportation, housing, and food all need to be carefully planned and constantly monitored if participants are to be as free as possible to get maximum value from the "higher things" of the seminar.

Evaluation and Follow-up

The report has repeatedly commented on the need for making certain that in the establishment of re-entry/transition programs we are being realistic and not setting up "strawman" problems. There is the immediate task of evaluating individual transition programs, in which the participants provide the major "feedback." This must be done with some delicacy, since it is too easy for those asked to evaluate to feel they are somehow the subjects for an experiment. This feeling may be largely dissipated by explaining that the comments made will be used to make improvements in future seminars and that, indeed, the present program is in part the result of earlier criticism. It may be well to provide opportunity for both specific evaluation (e.g., the request to rate individual sessions or the whole seminar along scales of usefulness or importance) and open-ended comment.

The role that returnees play in this evaluative process has already been noted. Not only may alumni be sent questionnaires or be interviewed by university personnel travelling overseas, but they might be called together in a follow-up conference, in situations where it might be economically and geographically practical. Local government officials, especially those responsible for education and manpower needs, could participate and, by so doing, not only contribute useful information and guidance but in the process receive some subtle training for future selection of students to study in the United States.

The whole subject of evaluative follow-up could be undertaken as a research project, especially by a returnee trained in social science fields. One of the discussion groups called for some major research efforts to determine what happens to individuals in inter-cultural movement in roles and in organizational settings. Research should deal not only with the experiences on first re-entering the home country but longitudinally to see what happens over a period of time. Opubor's paper made the observation that in reaching judgments about his American experience, the student needs to see how the "particular historical circumstances of the United States have led to the creation of the American way of life and American successes and failures." It is likewise vital that the returnee use a similar historical framework for making the inevitable comparisons with his own society. This is a process which takes time and may not allow an early evaluation of his study experience in the United States. Asuncion-Lande, in recognition of this fact, sent her problem inventory to participants in one of her seminars six months later for their comments, indicating the changes in their perspectives which had taken place after being home for some time.

AID, in its follow-up of grantees, takes cognizance of a basic educational principle, that learning is demonstrated by behavior change. Thus AID, through its overseas personnel, looks at productive, observable, change or what we might call "on-the-job performance." While this type of observation would be impracticable for most institutions or agencies, it does point up the importance of some objective data on the returnee's experience. This could perhaps be obtained from employer or colleague by either correspondence or interview carried out by university/agency personnel who may be in the area.

SUMMARY: Where Do We Go From Here?

It was obvious to the workshop participants that they were dealing with a subject of major concern that was, except for some of the transition activities referred to in this report, new territory to be explored. The need should be obvious and the possibilities for doing something about the need seem limitless. The recommendations of the workshop groups offer some beginning directions, but hopefully the report will spur the reader to creative thinking about still further possibilities. If a national clearinghouse, referred to earlier, is established, such new ideas might be shared with all who are interested. Attention to the relevance of students' academic experience and preparation for the application of that experience is vital if we are concerned about the value of U.S. education to foreign students.

Although it would be neat and helpful to conclude this report with a recommended model of re-entry--transition programs, it would be premature at this stage of our communication and understanding. Thus a first step in providing specific guidelines for the establishment of transition programs was recommended at the workshop. Representatives of some of the principal ongoing transition programs should be brought together for the specific purpose of developing the content and format, including teaching suggestions, for a three-day, five-day, or week-end seminar dealing with the phenomenon of transition from the role of student in the United States to that of professional in his home country. In addition to all the thoughts and suggestions of the Wingspread discussion groups, this planning group should take into consideration the following: (1) seminars should be held at off-campus locations; (2) the plans should include recommendations for implementation and evaluation. It was further recommended that the work of this planning group be made widely available.

Other conference recommendations related to publishing and distributing efforts. It was felt that the Wingspread conference report itself should receive wide distribution to academic and professional organizations and to the publications of these groups. The work of the planning group referred to above might lead to its inclusion in the NAFSA Field Service's Consultant's Manual, to aid and encourage Field Service consultants in obtaining information on presently existing programs and perhaps to stimulate thinking about establishing new ones.

Because there are comparatively few university and agency personnel with expertise in the area of re-entry/transition programs, the NAFSA Field Service might be asked to make use of some who have had experience to serve as consultants to institutions interested in establishing transition programs. In another approach to sharing what wisdom there is in the field, representatives of interested institutions would be enabled to secure in-service training grants from the Field Service in order to visit one or more of the ongoing programs.

Conferences have long been a means of sharing professional information and several of the discussion groups recommended that a topic on transition be included in national conferences of relevant professional organizations. NAFSA or the American Association of Collegiate Registrars and Admissions Officers (AACRAO) might include the subject in their programs. After further development, this subject could serve as the theme or central work project of NAFSA regional conferences.

To be effective, the Wingspread conferees agreed, the efforts of this workshop could be only a beginning, a stimulation to further exploration and planning and, as this section has outlined, some very specific action. To know where we are in the field of transition programming, to give careful consideration to some of the vital planning factors as outlined in this report, and to take active steps to inform and plan--these will be the proof of the value of the workshop.

SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Bring together representatives of some of the current transition-type programs to develop the content and format of transition seminars of varying lengths. Distribute the results of the work of this group as widely as possible.

2. Establish a national clearinghouse for sharing information about ongoing re-entry-transition programs, there impact, and innovative program ideas.

3. Add "re-entry-transition" as a topic to NAFSA Field Service Consultant's Manual. The Field Service should make use of some of the few current transition program specialists as consultants.

4. Provide Field Service training grants and workshop funds to stimulate interest in re-entry-transition programs.

5. Encourage professional organizations to establish re-entry-transition programs bringing together students of similar disciplines toward the end of their study period.

6. Develop contacts among alumni to assist transition program planners in learning needs of returnees, perhaps in part through university personnel traveling overseas.

7. Accumulate series of case histories of the re-entry process and problems for use in planning and workshop sessions.

8. Create an "Itinerant Seminar" of educational planners to visit sending countries in order to visit regional educational centers, establish contacts between sending and receiving nations and help to train in methods of selection of students.

9. Use the topic of re-entry-transition programs in regional and national conferences of NAFSA and other organizations in the field of higher education.

FOOTNOTES

[1] "Initial Orientation of Foreign Students," *Guidelines*, National Association for Foreign Student Affairs (Washington, D.C., 1966), p. 1.

[2] Richard W. Brislin and H. Van Buren IV, "Can They Go Home Again?", *Exchange*, IX (Spring, 1974), p. 20.

[3] I. Janis, *Psychological Stress*, John Wiley (New York, 1958).

[4] The original inventory was compiled by a group of Mutual Educational Exchange Program grantees participating in a week-end workshop at the University of Texas-Austin in August, 1973. That workshop was called the Janus Project. Dr. Asuncion-Lande amplified the inventory for a similar program held at the University of Kansas in August, 1974. Both activities were conducted as a part of the orientation program for incoming Mutual Educational Exchange grantees which was arranged by I.I.E.

[5] Brislin and Van Buren, *loc. cit.*

[6] Stephen Bochner, "The Mediating Man and Cultural Diversity," *Topics in Culture Learning*, East-West Culture Learning Institute (Honolulu, 1973), pp. 23-37.

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Barry Nurcombe is Senior Lecturer in Child Psychiatry in the Schools of Psychiatry and Paediatrics, University of New South Wales. He has contributed articles to the American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, Journal of the American Academy of Child Psychiatry, British Journal of Medical Psychology, and Medical Journal of Australia.

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Paul Pedersen counsels international students and teaches psychology at the University of Minnesota. Walter Lonner edits the Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology and teaches psychology at Western Washington State College. Juris Draguns is a clinical psychologist at Pennsylvania State University.

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PERSONAL PROBLEMS SOLVING RESOURCES USED BY UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA FOREIGN STUDENTS

PAUL PEDERSEN
INTERNATIONAL STUDENT ADVISOR'S OFFICE
UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Foreign students are likely to experience more problems than students in general and have access to fewer resources to help them solve those problems (Arkoff, et al. 1965; Conway, 1969; Selltiz, et al. 1963; Sharma, 1973; Klein, et al. 1971; and Eide, 1970). In their adjustment to those problems the foreign students have had to rely more on one another as resources for solving personal problems than perhaps any other source (Kiell, 1951; Morris, 1960; Sue and Sue, 1974; Sue and Kirk, 1975; Autler, 1970; and Torrey, et al. 1970). We do not know why foreign students prefer to seek help from one another rather than campus counseling agencies or if they would be more likely to go to fellow countrymen only on particular kinds of problems. We might speculate that their problems are perceived as so unique that counseling agency personnel would not be prepared to understand them; or that cultural differences would be perceived as so enormous that campus agencies might lack the sensitivity and expertise to advise them; or that explaining their problem to a stranger in a foreign language is too anxiety provoking; or finally that they might not perceive themselves to have any "problem" that would require "counseling" from a trained professional. This article attempts to cross-tabulate personal problem solving resources with other demographic data among a sample of University of Minnesota foreign students to look at differences in the rate of using the International Student Advisor's Office, their faculty advisor, a boy or girlfriend, fellow countrymen or some other resource for solving personal problems.

The Bureau of Institutional Research at the University of Minnesota published a study in 1971 on "Attitudes of Foreign Students Toward Educational Experiences at the University of Minnesota" (Stecklein, et al., 1971). A 32 item questionnaire was sent to 1,555 foreign students at the University of Minnesota in May of 1971, of which 781 questionnaires (or 50.2 percent) were completed and returned. The respondents included students from 75 different countries with 56 percent from Asia, 13 percent from Europe, 10 percent from Latin America, 6 percent from Africa and 15 percent not identifiable by country of origin. They were mostly male (82%) who were either single (51%) or separated from wives or husbands (24%), usually between the ages of 25 and 29 (36%), enrolled either in the Institute of Technology (35%), the College of Liberal Arts (21%), or the College of Agriculture (11%), and who had been in the U. S. for two years or less (54%). While these demographic ratios reflect the total distribution of foreign students at Minnesota, the data are based on responses from only half of the foreign student community which limits the extent we can generalize from these data.

This analysis is based on responses to item 25 of the questionnaire, which asked "Where do you go when you have a personal problem and are not able to solve it yourself?" The foreign students responded by checking one among seven alternatives: (1) International Student Advisor's Office (ISAO) (15%); (2) Faculty Advisor (17%); (3) boyfriend/girlfriend (12%); (4) fellow countryman (31%); (5) host family (4%); (6) American brother/sister (1%) or (7) other (20%). Unfortunately the Student Counseling Bureau or the Mental Health Clinic were not given as specific alternatives. Some of those students responding in the "other" category no doubt would go to these agencies. While it was expected that most foreign students would turn to fellow countrymen, a substantial proportion selected one of the other alternatives. The data from item 25 were cross-tabulated with other responses in an attempt to distinguish students who sought out fellow countrymen from those who did not. These cross-tabulations can be summarized in the four general categories of: (1) participation in orientation; (2) the extent of a student's active assimilation into the university community; (3) the extent to which the university was perceived to accommodate internationalism; (4) the length of stay by foreign students at the university.

A Chi^2 one-sample test of significance was calculated for the columns of data in each table to demonstrate the non-random distribution of responses in each of the five categories at a .01 level of statistical significance (Siegal, 1956). The total percentage of foreign student respondents represented in each column is given along with the total number of foreign students because of the unequal distribution of responses in each column and because the Chi^2 is so strongly influenced by a small number of responses. Because statistical significance is calculated for the columns it is difficult to establish trends in comparing one column of the data with another. Hence, I have tried to be conservative in comparing responses across columns.

1. Orientation:

Programs orienting foreign students to the University of Minnesota range from an extensive summer program of several weeks to a one-day intensive seminar, although many foreign students receive little orientation. The Foreign Student Advisor at Minnesota, Forrest Moore, describes the goals of orientation as (1) to provide knowledge about the host country; (2) to prepare the student for our educational system; (3) to acquaint the student with the university; (4) to rehearse coping with problems; and (5) to improve the student's English language facility.

Table 1: Personal Problem Solving Resources Used by Foreign Students Who Attended Special Orientation Classes

Counseling Resource	Attended before coming to Minnesota		Attended after coming to Minnesota	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
ISAO	12%	15%	19%	15%
ADVISOR	27%	16%	15%	17%
BOY/GIRLFRIEND	6%	13%	9%	13%
COUNTRYMEN	35%	30%	39%	29%
OTHER	22%	27%	18%	27%
N	52	547	110	515
TOTAL % of students	9%	91%	18%	82%
Chi^2	8.2	*64.9	*28.5	*53.6

*$P \leq .01$

Few students attended special orientation classes before coming to Minnesota, but of those that did a high percentage went to their advisors for personal problems. Those oriented after arriving preferred to go to countrymen, although the difference is slight. Next we looked at students who either had attended special seminars for foreign students at Minnesota or who thought such seminars would be a good idea.

Table 2: Personal Problem Solving Resources Used by Foreign Students Who Favored or Attended Regular Seminars for Foreign Students at Minnesota

Counseling Resource	Have Attended Seminars		Believe Seminars for Orienting Foreign Students Useful	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
ISAO	25%	15%	15%	7%
ADVISOR	13%	17%	15%	14%
BOY/GIRLFRIEND	6%	12%	14%	14%
COUNTRYMEN	31%	31%	29%	31%
OTHER	25%	25%	27%	31%
N	48	599	279	74
TOTAL % of students	7%	93%	79%	21%
Chi^2	9.4	*63.1	*29.9	*28.9

*P ≤ .01

While very few students actually attended regular seminars for foreign students at Minnesota, a larger proportion of them would go to the ISAO for help on personal problems. A large number of students favored regular seminars for foreign students. These students were also more likely to seek out the ISAO and less likely to seek out countrymen, even though countrymen were still the most popular resource. Perhaps students who favor seminars relating their academic studies to their home country setting are also more likely to utilize formalized resources rather than informal ones for solving personal problems.

The foreign student who is less fluent in English will almost certainly require more extensive orientation and counseling. If we look at students from those countries where English is not used as the principal language we can determine who they seek out for counseling compared to students who come from English speaking countries. Students from non-English speaking countries comprised 66 percent of the sample of which 16 percent went to the ISAO, 17 percent went to their advisor, 11 percent went to a boyfriend or girlfriend, 34 percent went to fellow countrymen, and 22 percent went elsewhere for help on personal problems. Students from English speaking countries comprised 34 percent of the sample, of which 14 percent went to the ISAO, 17 percent went to their advisor, 15 percent went to a boyfriend or girlfriend, 23 percent went to fellow countrymen, and 31 percent went elsewhere for help on personal problems. Responses suggest that foreign students from non-English speaking countries do not require much more time from the ISAO or their advisor for personal problems, than students from non-English speaking countries, although those non-English speaking students who do seek out the ISAO or their advisor might require a considerable amount of time.

Participation in orientation classes and regular seminars seems to accompany a tendency toward increased use of the advisor and ISAO and some less reliance on peers or fellow countrymen, although many institutionalized services might be included in the "other" category. These data do not indicate whether orientation is the cause or the effect of increased institutional dependence or whether some other intervening variable associated with both these predictors would best explain the relationship.

2. Assimilation:

Every foreign student is required to make a considerable adjustment to fit the life style demanded by a university community. To some extent the success of institutional counseling services, such as the ISAO or the faculty advisor to foreign students, is measured by the degree to which these services help foreign students assimilate into university life with a minimum of difficulty. The measures of assimilation in this study are limited by questions asked in the original study relating to the student's having transferred from another college or university, having changed his major, participation in student organizations and the number of his or her close friends. Other measures of assimilation may, in fact, be implicit in the reported data of the other three foci of this article.

A student transferring from some other institution has made that decision for a variety of reasons. On the one hand the student may have become more aware of his needs and the more appropriate resources provided by another university. On the other hand the student may have failed at his first university and be seeking to escape to somewhere else where he hopes to succeed. In either case the decision to transfer suggests an awareness of and a willingness to use that option in improving his own situation for some reason. Those students who had attended another university before coming to Minnesota accounted for 23 percent of the sample, of which 15 percent sought help from the ISAO, 12 percent from the advisor, 14 percent from a boyfriend or girlfriend, 29 percent from fellow countrymen, and 30 percent from some other resource. Students who had not previously attended any other university accounted for 77 percent of the sample, of which 15 percent sought help from the ISAO, 18 percent from their advisor, 12 percent from a boyfriend or girlfriend, 31 percent from fellow countrymen, and 24 percent from some other resource. There does not seem to be much difference between transfer and non-transfer students in the resources sought out for help on personal problems.

We might likewise expect those foreign students who elected to change their major while studying at the University to be a special population, more willing to utilize available resources in modifying their own study situation. The decision to change their major could as easily be a measure of the students' successful assimilation as their unsuccessful adjustment to the university, but in either case it would be an important decision requiring a high level of motivation and willingness to take drastic action. A surprisingly small number of foreign students reported having changed their major. Students who had changed their major accounted for 13 percent of the sample, of which 17 percent sought help from the ISAO, 7 percent from the advisor, 15 percent from a boyfriend or girlfriend, 31 percent from fellow countrymen, and 31 percent from some other resource. Students who had not changed their major accounted for 87 percent of the sample, of which 15 percent sought help from the ISAO, 18 percent from their advisor, 12 percent from a boyfriend or girlfriend, 31 percent from fellow countrymen, and 25 percent from some other resource. There does seem to be slightly more reliance on the faculty advisor and slightly less reliance on the ISAO among foreign students changing their majors while reliance on other resources retains about the same ratios. Whether or not a student has decided to change majors does not seem to affect who is sought out for help on personal problems.

Participation in extracurricular activities of a university provides the most commonly accepted measure of a student's assimilation into the university community. Among foreign students this form of participation is most commonly pursued through the nationality clubs or the Minnesota International Student Association, which relate most directly to the interests of the foreign student. By broadening the scope of inquiry to include any or all student organizations we might include a number of other extracurricular activities as well. Again, it would be possible to argue that a foreign student's involvement in extracurricular activities might measure encapsulation as easily as assimilation. Lacking more specific information on forms of involvement, this article is assuming extracurricular participation as one measure of assimilation.

Of those 41 percent who said they were a member of any student organization 16 percent went to the ISAO, 12 percent to their advisor, 14 percent to their boyfriend or girlfriend, 36 percent to fellow countrymen and 21 percent to some other resource. Of the 59 percent not belonging to any student organization 15 percent went to the ISAO, 19 percent to their advisor, 11 percent to a boyfriend or girlfriend, 27 percent to fellow countrymen and 28 percent to some other resource. Slightly more of the students in organizations went to fellow countrymen and slightly fewer to their advisor although there was not much difference. If we narrow our focus to those 11 percent of the foreign students acting as officers in any organizations 27 percent went to the ISAO, 7 percent to their advisor, 16 percent to a boyfriend or girlfriend, 30 percent to fellow countrymen and 20 percent to some other resource. Of those 89 percent of foreign students not acting as officers of any organization, 14 percent went to the ISAO, 16 percent to their advisor, 12 percent to a boyfriend or girlfriend, 33 percent to fellow countrymen and 25 percent to some other resource.

Students who participate in student organizations are more likely to seek out fellow countrymen for help and are less likely to rely on faculty advisors, suggesting that those organizations provide a valuable counseling support system for foreign students. When we narrow our focus to foreign students who are officers of a student organization we see that they are relying much more on the ISAO, and are less likely to seek help from their advisor. Officers would have more frequent occasions to work with the ISAO than students in general, which may explain their proportionately greater reliance on this source of counseling.

Another obvious measure of a student's assimilation into the university community would be the number of friends students have made outside their own national community. If we look at those students having up to ten friends not counting countrymen, whose last name the student can remember, we can separate students with more friends from students with less friends. This article assumes that greater numbers of friends indicates more effective assimilation even though foreign students frequently criticize friendships with Americans as being "superficial" and lacking the depth of friendships back home.

Table 3: Personal Problem Solving Resources Used by Foreign Students Who Have Friends From Other Countries Whose Last Names They Can Remember

Counseling Resource	None	One or Two	Three or Four	Five to Nine	Ten or More
ISAO	0%	16%	11%	14%	17%
ADVISOR	9%	19%	27%	13%	13%
BOY/GIRLFRIEND	0%	9%	7%	12%	13%
COUNTRYMAN	46%	47%	42%	41%	25%
OTHER	46%	9%	13%	20%	28%
N	11	32	55	116	429
TOTAL % of students	2%	5%	9%	18%	67%
Chi^2	13.1	*15.6	*21.5	*35.3	*35.0

*P ≤ .01

Very few students admit to having no friends outside their own fellow countrymen and most of the students claim to have ten or more friends whose last names they can remember. Among those reporting ten or more friends there is a proportionately greater reluctance to rely on fellow countrymen. There is also a greater reliance on "other" resources among those having no friends. We might hypothesize that foreign students with ten or more friends outside their nationality group rely less on countrymen and more on other counseling resources. Otherwise the numbers of reported friendships does not seem to affect selection of sources for help on personal problems.

The very limited criteria of assimilation used in this article cannot independently predict which foreign students would seek help on personal problems from sources other than their fellow countrymen. There is some indication that students who are assimilated by these criteria are proportionately more likely to depend on one another or in some cases on the ISAO than on other institutional resources, compared with foreign students generally. Informal peer counseling resources appear to supplement other formal university counseling resources in a significant and important manner. In times of diminishing budgets for counseling foreign students and student support services generally this tendency may be expected to increase.

3. Accommodation by the University:

To what extent should the university modify itself to accommodate foreign students as a special population? If the University is perceived as more accommodating, how does that affect the foreign student's inclination to seek help on personal problems? We might presume that in the interests of international education it would serve the university's interests to be influenced by the presence of foreign students. We might also presume that those foreign students who perceive the university as more accommodating would see less reason to use formal counseling resources and perceive the university as more friendly. We might finally presume that the success of a foreign student's educational experience and the long range international benefits of that education might be directly affected by how the university is perceived.

If we could separate those students who were more satisfied with the university from those students who were less satisfied we might notice a significant difference in who is sought out for help on personal problems. While the level of satisfaction varies with the source of sought-out help, there is no evidence that this is a cause-effect relationship. Students who are lucky enough to find a faculty advisor knowledgeable about the unique needs of their country could be expected to rely on that advisor more frequently in solving their personal problems. A good working relationship between advisor and advisee is of considerable importance for the foreign student and such a relationship should be encouraged. While such a close relationship will facilitate the process of international education, it will also increase the work load. Conscientious advisors will be called on more frequently by foreign student advisees to help solve personal problems, even though being a good advisor to foreign students will not be likely to heighten a faculty member's status among colleagues or help him get promoted. Being a good advisor to foreign students might even work against a faculty member's professional advancement in his field.

Table 4: Personal Problem Solving Resources Used by Foreign Students Who Have Advisors Acquainted With the Unique Needs of Their Country

Counseling Resource	Not at All	Very Little	Seldom	Somewhat	Well	Very Well
ISAO	16%	21%	17%	16%	11%	14%
ADVISOR	4%	5%	12%	13%	40%	40%
BOY/GIRLFRIEND	15%	9%	10%	11%	12%	12%
COUNTRYMAN	35%	41%	31%	37%	17%	14%
OTHER	30%	25%	32%	22%	20%	19%
N	114	88	95	166	110	57
TOTAL % of students	18%	14%	15%	26%	18%	9%
Chi^2	*34.9	*55.2	*21.0	*36.8	*30.7	*15.5

*P ≤ .01

As would be expected, students who describe their advisor as knowing the unique needs of their country are much more likely to seek help from their advisor on personal problems. As would be assumed, these same students are less likely to seek help from the ISAO or their fellow countrymen. It would appear that advisors who are good and conscientious in researching the country backgrounds of their foreign student advisees can expect that effort to result in being sought out more frequently to help solve personal problems.

Whether or not an advisor is knowledgable about a student's home country could depend on that advisor's inclination to learn about the country after being assigned as an advisor. It could also reflect more or less effort by the university to assign advisees to faculty who already know about the student's home country. As might be expected a large number of students reported that they did not believe a faculty member's acquaintance with their home country was a factor in assignment to a foreign student. Student responses indicated that 30 percent believed the advisor's knowledge was never a factor, 17 percent said it was very seldom a factor, 16 percent that it was seldom a factor, 23 percent that it was sometimes a factor, 10 percent that it was often a factor and 4 percent that it was very often a factor. Whether or not it was perceived as a factor did not seem to affect the resource sought out for help on personal problems, however.

Along with selection of the advisor, the planning of a student's program is another area where knowledge of the unique needs of that student's home country might predictably be an important factor. The process of matching the educational process to the future task would seem to be an obvious corner stone in educational planning. Student responses indicated that 33 percent believed an advisor's knowledge never entered into program planning, 19 percent that it very seldom entered in, 16 percent that it seldom entered in, 23 percent that it sometimes entered in, 7 percent that it often entered in and 1 percent that it very often entered in. The more that information about the student's home country was perceived to enter into program planning the more likely the foreign students were to seek help from advisors on personal problems and the less likely they were to rely on fellow countrymen or other resources.

International education has an important place in the "rhetoric" of higher education, as suggested in the literature distributed by most of the reputable universities. The degree to which internationalism is "functionally" integral to the university community could be reflected by the foreign student's confidence in relying on the university for help on personal problems.* Students perceiving high levels of internationalism among faculty activities were more likely to seek out their advisor and less likely to seek out countrymen. Students perceiving high levels of internationalism in their course work report a proportionately higher frequency in seeking out the ISAO or the advisor and were less likely to seek out countrymen. Students perceiving high levels of internationalism among student activities report a proportionately higher frequency of seeking out the ISAO. Internationalism in faculty activities seems related to seeking out the major advisor while in student activities it seems related to seeking out the ISAO.

Internationalism can be measured by the variousness of content in the course readings and materials taught but it can also be measured by the variability of effectiveness in processes such as cross-cultural communication and understanding. It is not merely what is taught or known but also the effectiveness of the process by which that material is communicated that is likely to influence a foreign student's willingness to communicate with those offering help. We would expect effective cross-cultural communication in course work and in counseling foreign students to be an important reinforcer in determining who that student seeks out for help with personal problems.

Table 5: Personal Problem Solving Resources Used by Students Who Perceived Their Faculty to Have Adequate Cross-Cultural Understanding

Counseling Resource	In dealing with course material		In dealing with foreign students	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
ISAO	16%	15%	16%	15%
ADVISOR	17%	16%	19%	12%
BOY/GIRLFRIEND	14%	12%	14%	11%
COUNTRYMAN	27%	35%	25%	36%
OTHER	27%	23%	25%	24%
N	316	294	296	319
TOTAL % of students	52%	48%	48%	52%
Chi^2	*26.0	*45.9	*17.2	*68.0

*P ≤.01

Students reporting that their courses demonstrated an adequate level of cross-cultural understanding describe a pattern of seeking out help not much different from students who claim that cross-cultural understanding is not adequate. Those who claim the absence of cross-cultural understanding are slightly more likely to seek out fellow countrymen. Interestingly, the issue of cross-cultural understanding divides the sample of foreign students into two almost equal groups. The presence or absence of cross-cultural understanding in dealing with foreign students likewise divides the sample into two nearly equal groups. Here there is a difference in sought-out sources of help, however, with those reporting a lack of cross-cultural understanding being less likely to seek out the major advisor and more likely to seek out fellow countrymen.

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* Data supporting this description can be provided by the author on request but for reasons of space are not included in this article.

In summary, more knowledgable advisors can expect to be sought out more frequently for personal problems. Knowledge about the student's home country, as applied to assigning advisors and setting curricula, drew students closer to advisors as did measures of perceived internationalism on campus. When students cannot find cross-cultural understanding elsewhere, they have no choice but to rely on fellow countrymen.

4. Length of Stay:

The longer a foreign student stays in this country, the more people he or she will meet and the better he or she will get to know many of them. The longer a foreign student stays and the more involved he becomes the more likely he is to be influenced by "Americanizing" factors. Presumably this would lead to his being more dependent on U.S. nationals rather than fellow countrymen for help on personal problems. By comparing length of stay with sources of help on personal problems we might find support for the hypothesis that students who stay in this country longer will be less dependent on fellow countrymen.

Table 6: Personal Problem Solving Resources Used by Students Who Have Stayed in the United States Varying Lengths of Time

Counseling Resource	Time spent in the United States							
	1 year	2 years	3 years	4 years	5 years	6 years	7 years	8 years
ISAO	13%	17%	20%	17%	10%	13%	0%	17%
ADVISOR	19%	13%	15%	23%	20%	4%	13%	0%
BOY/GIRLFRIEND	10%	13%	15%	9%	10%	22%	13%	17%
COUNTRYMAN	32%	36%	30%	26%	30%	17%	27%	33%
OTHER	26%	21%	20%	25%	30%	43%	47%	33%
N	115	196	105	78	50	23	15	6
TOTAL % of students	25%	31%	17%	12%	8%	4%	2%	1%
Chi^2	*25.9	*34.6	7.1	8.0	10.0	6.3	9.3	2.3

*P ≤ .01

Foreign students already in the United States for about four or five years are most likely to seek help on personal problems from the ISAO and faculty advisor. When they do begin to use the ISAO and faculty advisor and get the help they need they perhaps become more independent of other sources of support. They likewise might need to become more independent of formal counseling services as they reach the end of their education and are making preparations to return home. The increased proportionate use of "other" resources makes it difficult to interpret where longer term students do go for help. Students already in the country two years are more likely to seek out fellow countrymen and less likely to seek out the advisor than longer term or shorter term students. Perhaps it is the second and third year student which have more personal problems, demanding more time than their advisor has available and causing them to seek out the ISAO or fellow countrymen instead.

Not all of the students who have been here longer periods of time are studying for the same degrees. Some who have been here for several years are working toward a B.A. while others newly arrived are working toward a Ph.D. The degree objective would seem to be an important factor in who is sought out for help on personal problems.

Table 7: Personal Problem Solving Resources Used by Students According to Their Degree Program

Counseling Resource	Bachelor	Master	Ph.D.	Professional	Post-Doctoral	Other	Non Degree
ISAO	13%	16%	18%	20%	11%	0%	25%
ADVISOR	4%	16%	22%	30%	44%	29%	25%
BOY/GIRLFRIEND	18%	9%	13%	0%	0%	0%	8%
COUNTRYMAN	37%	37%	24%	40%	11%	43%	8%
OTHER	31%	22%	25%	10%	33%	29%	33%
N	131	197	281	10	9	7	12
TOTAL % of students	20%	30%	43%	2%	1%	1%	2%
Chi^2	*49.6	*44.4	*14.3	5.0	6.0	5.1	5.4

*$P \leq .01$

Disregarding the thirty-eight students in the professional, post-doctoral, non-degree and other categories we might focus our attention on the B.A., M.A. and Ph.D. candidates. While the B.A. candidate relies on countrymen much more and faculty advisors much less than the Ph.D. candidate, B.A. students are less likely to be assigned faculty advisors. It is interesting to note the much smaller number of M.A. candidates seeking help from a boy or girlfriend, although students are about equally likely to seek out help for personal problems from the two remaining categories of the ISAO or other resources.

The decision whether to stay or go back home constitutes a considerable personal problem for many if not most of the foreign students regardless of their final decision. Would the foreign student who plans to stay in the U. S. be more likely to depend on the institution than fellow countrymen for help on personal problems? Of the 20 percent in this sample seeking permanent residence in the United States, 17 percent would go to the ISAO, 21 percent to their advisor, 7 percent to a boyfriend or girlfriend, 34 percent to fellow countrymen and 21 percent to some other source. Of the 80 percent in this sample not seeking permanent residence in the United States, 15 percent would go to the ISAO, 16 percent to their advisor, 14 percent to a boyfriend or girlfriend, 30 percent to a fellow countryman and 26 percent to some other source.

The differences between students intending to become permanent residents and those not intending to become permanent residents were not large enough to warrant any conclusion beyond a tentative suggestion that students intending to become permanent residents may be slightly more likely to go to their faculty advisor, fellow countrymen or the ISAO rather than other resources for help on personal problems. For both groups the fellow countrymen were the most popular resource.

5. Conclusion:

The data reviewed suggest ways that counseling services for foreign students should be restructured to be more effective and efficient. The most sought out sources of help for personal problems were, as expected, fellow countrymen. The faculty advisor and the ISAO were also utilized to a substantial degree especially in certain circumstances where those institutional resources might be more appropriate. While the ratios were changed in each cross-tabulation, countrymen were always first, advisors were usually second and ISAO was typically the third choice. We may speculate that countrymen were most popular because they are the most immediately and readily available, particularly if the more formal institutional resources have been either inaccessible or unacceptable. In cases where foreign students perceive increased internationalism, cross-cultural understanding, or take part in some sort of orientation program the numbers of foreign students going to their faculty advisor or the ISAO increased considerably. It would appear that these three counseling resources appeal to different groups of students relating to different problems and are all three necessary to maintain a balanced service system.

In the case of the advisors, cross-cultural training would help the foreign student to perceive them as more helpful and would assist them in working with their foreign student advisees. To the extent that foreign students perceive their advisor as an internationalist they would be more likely to seek the advisor out for personal problems. This would increase an advisor's work load but it would also increase the quality of the advisor's assistance to foreign students. It might be desirable if universities could reward good faculty advisors in the form of reduced work load, promotions, merit raises, tenure or some other recognition of their efforts.

In the case of the ISAO, more emphasis should be placed on orientation programs for the foreign students that teach them to better utilize the full range of counseling facilities on the campus. The ISAO will need to place limitations on those foreign students they are able and willing to assist (realistically, simply because of ISAO's limited resources) while at the same time helping the foreign student locate other sources of help.

If countrymen are to be effectively used, peer counselor training programs should be established so that the students doing the bulk of the counseling on personal problems will have the skills to manage that responsibility. By performing this service, trained peer counselors will save the university considerable expense in relieving other support services. Foreign students will probably turn to fellow countrymen over all other resources for personal problems in any case. Given this reality, it becomes a high priority task to train these sought-out foreign students so that they can be reasonably effective as non-specialists in counseling.

Finally, it is important to emphasize that this article is a secondary analysis of a larger research project not related directly to problems of counseling foreign students. There are many alternative hypotheses and intervening variables which could not be accounted for in the data available. In spite of these limitations the available data suggest questions well worth further discussion in the area of counseling foreign students.

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IDENTIFICATION OF CROSS-CULTURAL TALENT: THE EMPIRICAL APPROACH OF THE PEACE CORPS

JESSE G. HARRIS, JR.*
DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY
UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY

The Peace Corps has sponsored what is perhaps the boldest and most imaginative attempt yet made to select individuals for a cross-cultural experience involving not only intensive language preparation and an occupational assignment, but also a two year experience of sharing in the family and community life of members of another culture. In its peak period (1966), it involved the functioning of as many as 15,500 Volunteers in the field. As a massive administrative undertaking launched in 1961, the Peace Corps developed a system of technical procedures for identification, selection, and placement of potential contributors to another culture to a degree that seemed, at times, to obscure the focal concern with cultural interaction.

In order to place in proper perspective the cross-cultural aspects of the entire system of evaluation and review, we might examine, in retrospect, the successive changes in approach to assessment and the changes in policy, as seen through the eyes of one who participated in the process for several years, and who noted with some concern and nostalgia the gradual shedding of formal techniques valued so highly by psychologists in the academic setting. A brief review of the selection system, as it functioned during the 1960's, will provide some background for consideration of the more specific issues of identification of cross-cultural talent. A condensed narrative of the selection procedure can be found in Wiggins (1973), and a more technical, well-documented account can be found in Cotton (1973). Many of these studies are discussed also in a review of evaluation of cross-cultural training programs by Brislin and Pedersen (1975).

The initial phase of selection involved completion of an application in the form of a questionnaire, adequate performance on a verbal aptitude and language examination, transcripts of formal academic training, and a list of persons who might serve as references for a large number of letters of recommendation, all of which were carefully rated and evaluated. The materials were reviewed by prescreening and screening clerks, and eventually by a classification officer whose job it was to relate candidates to specific programs within or among countries. After accepting an invitation for training, the candidate was required to provide the necessary information on places of past employment and past addresses to permit a Civil Service full field investigation, and was also required to pass a medical examination before proceeding to the training center.

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* The opinions expressed are those of the author and should not be construed as representing the opinion or policy of any agency of the United States government. This article was written while the author was a Senior Fellow at the East-West Culture Learning Institute.

Although orientation sessions were conducted at the training site by the field selection officer (usually a clinical, industrial, or sometimes an academic psychologist), and by staff members in the early years of the Peace Corps, the concept of a separate staging operation detached from the training site, and designed for purposes of information dissemination, individual and group interviewing, and decision making, did not emerge until the late 1960's.

For nearly a decade, evaluation and selection were conducted at the training site by the advisory selection board conducted typically half-way through the three or four month training period and at the end of training (Goldberg, 1966, Harris, 1972,1973). The selection board included in its membership a senior field selection officer, one or more field assessment officers (typically psychologists responsible for evaluating and providing staff feedback to trainees and to the board), the project director, the training staff, a representative from the host country, usually a physician and psychiatrist, and in later years, even return Peace Corps Volunteers. Information utilized in the reviews included interview data, psychological test data, ratings by the staff, course grades, detailed assessment reports of the assessment officers, and in most programs, the anxiety-arousing, but rather effective peer ratings. The categories of evaluation included technical skills, motivation, interpersonal relations, language proficiency, and emotional maturity (designated by the acronym SMILE). Although the board was labeled "advisory" in nature to indicate that the field selection officer had the final authority of decision-making, in actual practice, the decisions were often reached by democratic discussion and consensus. In many respects, the board procedure was modeled after the military selection boards, incorporating the best known principles for input of information and exchange of opinions in the group decision-making process.

Much that had been learned between World War I and World War II, and for 16 years subsequent to World War II was brought to bear on the problem of selection in the early years of the Peace Corps. Psychology had prestigious and well-researched test instruments, it was developing sophisticated knowledge of computer methods, and it had made considerable progress in the development of theory of constructs, the validation of constructs, and methods of determining predictive validity. Members of the profession had already acquired some knowledge about biases in response, faking tendencies, inclinations to distort, either naively or subtly, and styles of responding to structured personality inventories in either a socially desirable direction, or a "yeasaying" or "naysaying" direction, in a "true-false" format, regardless of the content of items.

Examining the methods of assessment, we find that an array of more than 30 psychological tests and techniques was brought into position for effective action. Although the tests of abilities tended to fade out in the early years for lack of demonstrated predictive validity in this setting, concerted efforts were made to utilize a variety of personality inventories (e.g. the Guilford-Zimmerman Temperament Survey, the Gordon Personal Profile, the Edwards Personal Preference Scale, the Rorschach, the Thematic Apperception Test, and particularly the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory [MMPI]). The MMPI survived the emerging concerns regarding invasion of privacy on the national scene to such an extent that a special Peace Corps form of the instrument was developed; but it too was eventually reduced to a role of clinical evaluation, and by the early 1970's, virtually all assessment tests of personality had been dropped.

Despite the steady advances in theory and technique of test construction of the type represented in structured objective personality inventories, the actual empirical validity of these instruments in the Peace Corps setting was unimpressive (Krug, 1963, Colmen, Kaplan, and Boulger, 1964, Krug and Werthem, 1965, Mischel, 1965, Wrigley, Cobb, and Kline, 1966, and Dicken, 1969). Test scores on single variables or combinations of variables in multiple regression equations simply did not predict adequately the future success or failure of Peace Corps Volunteers. The general problem of finding or developing test instruments which mirror the content of the criterion, when the criterion, or set of target behaviors, has not been adequately defined, will be discussed at a subsequent point in this article. Typically, the criterion, in a problem involving predictive validity, is regarded as an infallible measure, against which one attempts to predict from test scores or observable behavior. Although the criterion may actually be less than adequate as a precise measure or set of measures of the behavior under consideration, one attempts to find predictors, regardless of the nature or content of items, which correlate with or predict that criterion. Other forms of validity have become well established in the area of psychological testing, but most studies of training and performance in the field employ the model of predictive validity described above.

Aside from the tests, the psychologist's most well-developed technique was the interview. Much was already known in the early years of the Peace Corps from previous research about the development of both structured and unstructured methods of assessing personality through a verbal and nonverbal exchange between a professional expert and a candidate. Systems of classification of factual content, of categorization of observations, of thought patterns and emotional interchange, had already been investigated in the area of interviewing. As was true of the tests, however, the interview was limited in predictive power, in part by method, and, in part, by lack of adequacy of definition of the criterion. The interview, though retained in practice, fell by the wayside as a method of predicting the future performance or adaptation of Peace Corps Volunteers. If neither the conventional inventories of personality nor the interviews could be constructed adequately in the absence of a clear delineation of the target behavior, perhaps we should take the time to examine the target behavior, or the criterion, itself.

Throughout the history of prediction from psychological test data or interview data, analysis of the criterion or target has received limited attention, and has tended to be restricted to the designation of rather gross success-failure or healthy-ill types of criteria. Although such dichotomies have been useful in practice, they have not always provided the detailed description of an individual functioning successfully in an environment which has been necessary for delineation of the target behaviors. Even with the development of elaborate job descriptions, the personal attributes essential for successful performance have not usually been identified. Still further, the development, on a systematic basis, of descriptions of significant situational environments with which the individual interacts have rarely been attempted.

The importance of describing a composite successful personality in congruence with which personality inventories or other predictor variables can be constructed cannot be overemphasized. When such composites can be developed, the problem moves from one of haphazard prediction to one of prediction against meaningful criteria. Although the actual magnitude of the predictive correlation coefficients may not be improved dramatically, at least the target behavior is well known, and is no longer an image in the darkness. To the extent that the situational environment can also be described systematically, the analysis of the criterion will be even more complete. Although the development of the target behaviors can be done qualitatively, it can be achieved more adequately through statistical differentiation of success-failure cases, utilizing a wide range of variables, as will be described subsequently in a discussion of actual research findings.

The Nature of Personality

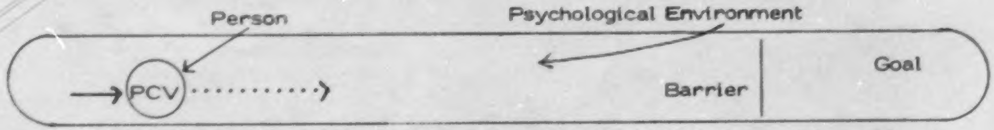
A major theoretical issue in the area of personality assessment has involved a difference of viewpoints with regard to the nature of personality. At one extreme, Allport (1937) advanced the position that personality is essentially contained within the skin, consisting of a biological substrate and a wide range of traits of personality, many of which are individual or unique, and some of which are common to the culture. According to Allport, traits are real, functional, psychological entities or structures existing in the individual, and can be regarded as biological in nature. Typical traits are ascendance and persistence. This viewpoint required the use of constructs or unseen aspects of the individual which must be inferred from observable behavior. At the other extreme is a position developed by Mischel, (1968), but more recently modified to some degree (Mischel, 1973), that personality traits are so much a function of the situation in which they are being measured or inferred, it is pointless to speak of a trait theory of personality. This inference is based on the limited reliability of traits when measured across situations.

The truth probably lies somewhere between these extremes. It seems highly probable from some features of my own research, that certain qualities of personality are relatively constant across situations, while others are subject to all of the problems of unreliability of measurement described by Mischel. For example, in studying the quality "friendly" in relation to (a) his supervisors, (b) his American peers, (c) his students, and (d) the villagers with whom he has lived, and by summing his presence-absence ratings, it was found that this quality did not differentiate successful and unsuccessful volunteers (i.e. early terminees). This might have been attributable to the fact that the quality of friendliness is not a significant differentiator, or to the fact that the quality of friendliness is too specific to a person-person interaction to be susceptible to reliable measurement. Other qualities (e.g. cooperativeness), however, did show adequate differentiations when rated either by this four-situation format, or by a general retrospective account. Although findings of this type may ultimately prove to be specific to individual investigations, they suggest, that some aspects of personality, at least, may generalize across situations.

The hope of the idealist theoretician would be to find statistical classificatory descriptions of the situational environment on a comparative basis, statistical descriptions of personality, and statistical statements of the interaction between the person and the environment. The achievement of such master formulae should permit more efficient prediction of the person's behavior in the new environment. As of this date, however, such conceptualizations have not produced concrete statistical formulae for use in the Peace Corps setting.

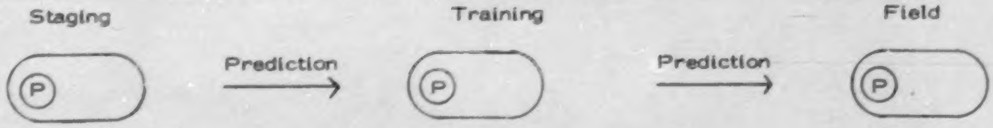
The Person and the Environment

The conceptualization described above is related to the field theory of Kurt Lewin (1935, 1936) in which the person is always seen in relation to an environment. The individual is driven by needs and impeded by barriers, while always moving toward goals, either physically or symbolically, and striving for relief of internal tension systems. Lewin was not concerned with conventional quantification, but made special efforts to diagram the various forces in a person's life through the use of vectors. Although Lewin had no knowledge of the Peace Corps situation during his lifetime, one might imagine that he would have drawn simple diagrams, such as the following, to represent the field situation.



According to Lewin the life space consists of the person and the environment, and in describing behavior, it is necessary to take account of "the totality of coexisting facts which are conceived of as mutually interdependent."

The problem for the Peace Corps, however, is that there is not just one environment, but a total of three such environments in which an individual is being evaluated in the entire process, at least for most programs conducted during the early years of the organization.



In the staging environment or any other initial interview, a candidate who has been preselected on the basis of paper credentials is attempting to persuade himself and an interviewer, in an individual or group setting, perhaps in a motel or hotel room, that he should proceed to the next stage. In the second environment, the training site, in which prediction was formerly conducted by board proceeding, a prediction is made for success in the field. At each stage, the set of observations is being made in a different environmental setting, and the aspects of personality which are considered most important do vary among the three environments.

Just as the interviewee in Environment I (Staging) must persuade himself, as well as an interviewer, that he is making a correct decision, so the individual in the training setting must persuade an entire staff, as well as himself, that he should proceed to the field. The set of behaviors that may please the staff may be somewhat incongruent with the behaviors required in the field, however concerted the efforts to simulate the field experience.

Given the complexities imposed by a succession of environments, we might explore further the problem of measurement of personality. Fundamental to our understanding of the more objective scientific approach to assessment is a distinction between the idiographic and the nomothetic approach to the analysis of personality. (Allport, 1962; Holt, 1962) The former denotes an in-depth study of the individual case, involving an attempt to interpret the entire configuration of variables and to predict future behavior on the basis of the individual judge's grasp of the total pattern of an individual subject. The nomothetic approach places less confidence in the individual judge's ability to piece together an entire configuration and attempts to analyze one facet or aspect of behavior at a time across a large number of individuals. The latter procedure eventually, in most analyses, requires higher order statistical procedures known as multivariate analyses, which combine many of the simple facets or units of behavior that have been observed across a large number of individuals. The multivariate approach permits one to integrate the entire personality by statistical procedure, instead of by configurational analysis by a single judge, as was true of the idiographic approach. Fundamental to both methods, however, is an emphasis on careful, objective observation and categorization of the basic units of behavior, which are under consideration. Although the nomothetic approach is usually regarded as the more objective, scientific approach, both methods have been employed in assessment settings throughout the history of the Peace Corps.

To some extent, I have attempted to integrate the personality trait approach (as inferred from observable behavior) in a research analysis of Peace Corps Volunteers in the South Pacific. Although this work has been previously published (Harris, 1973), I would like to reflect on some of the findings. I conducted lengthy interviews with a total of 53 Volunteers in Tonga, and on the basis of these interviews developed a list of traits, behaviors, and interactions which were thought by individual Volunteers to be important for successful adaptation and performance in Tonga. On the basis of the data from the interviews, I re-presented to staff members in Tonga, a set of rating scales to evaluate performance of Volunteers in Tonga--those who had succeeded at high levels, those who had succeeded at lower levels, and those who had terminated early. The ratings which were made by staff members no longer in contact with each other, were based on observations extending retrospectively over a period ranging from eight months to two years, and consequently involved reflections on the behavior of the individual in many different situations.

Analyses of inter-judge reliability and validity showed that a set of 24 variables was capable of discriminating effectively the groups and subgroups described above. Although the same set of variables might not prove to be the most effective set of differentiators in another host country, my best guess is that three-fourths of the variables would be common to other countries or cultures.

The final set of variables, as initially constructed in rational categories was as follows:

I. 1. Coverage of content
2. Responsibility
3. Facility with language
4. Knowledge of subject
5. Talents as teacher
6. Control of classroom
7. Extracurricular
8. Adaptability
9. Nature of assignment*

II. 1. Cultural sensitivity
    2. Interest in nationals
    3. Realism of goals

III. 1. Acceptance of authority
     2. Agreement and compromise

IV. (a) Inner strengths
    (b) Self-reliance
    (c) Patience, tolerance
    (d) Perseverance
    (e) Initiative
    (f) Industry*
    (g) Reliability

V. (a) Argumentative*
   (b) Considerate*
   (c) Courteous
   (d) Cooperative
   (e) Dependent on others*
   (f) Controlling*
   (g) Friendly*

VI. Items of general content
    General maturity
    Frequency of behavior problems
    Overall evaluation
    Extent of contact* (between rater and Volunteer)

* These items were deleted because they failed to differentiate groups.

Each of the items listed above was shown to have adequate inter-judge reliability and to differentiate successful Volunteers from early terminees.

This is, of course, the nomothetic approach to the understanding of personality, highly technical and highly statistical, but in terms of organization of one's observations, it does the job more effectively than a clinical-observational approach alone. Now it is true that one cannot weave together a colorful description of an individual from the array of details. The portrait will not be lifelike, but it will point out what are the essential and non-essential aspects of our observations. Often the observed qualities which we think are important prove not to be so important. For example, the quality of being argumentative which one would assume to be highly undesirable for work as a Peace Corps Volunteer was found in my research to be an ineffective differentiator. Either the quality is too specific to interactions between two persons, or too rare in occurrence to be of value in a statistical treatment of observations, but in any case, it fails to differentiate successful and unsuccessful Volunteers.

The items were then subjected to the statistical method of factor analysis which extracts the basic underlying dimensions of an array of variables or items. An interesting non-technical description of factor analysis has been presented by Brislin (1974) in an earlier volume of Topics in Culture Learning. When subjected to factor analysis, the items in the present study of Volunteers in Tonga emerge as four separate factors, with the first set of variables, which are conventionally designated "character traits," accounting for a larger amount of variance than any of the other three sets of variables (technical performance, cultural interaction, and interpersonal qualities). One might conclude from the complete statistical analyses of the data that basic qualities of personality reflecting strength of personality (e.g. perseverance, tolerance for frustration, dependability) are fundamental in the selection of individuals for an assignment of the type required in the Peace Corps. Technical performance is only a part of the constellation of requirements, and both interpersonal and cultural interaction variables contribute only as additional ingredients to the total formula for success. We might conclude that all of these categories of interaction with the environment (character make-up, performance, cultural interaction and interpersonal variables) are mutually interactive. In most cases, no one set of qualities will make the difference between success and failure, or between high and low performance, but the total aggregate of qualities is capable of performing the differentiation, when treated statistically.

It should be understood, however, that the list of variables developed in this research constitutes a criterion analysis (i.e. an analysis of significant differentiators at the end of the line, in the field), and not a predictive study of later success in the field. We proceeded as far as criterion analysis in the Peace Corps, but evolution of policy was such that further utilization of quantitative methods was no longer compatible with the increasing emphasis on self-selection. Thus, it has still not been demonstrated clearly that careful, objective description of the criterion behaviors will improve dramatically the efficiency of prediction when the target behaviors are employed as initial predictors.

Selection by a Board Procedure

This brings us to another major aspect of selection in the Peace Corps...the use of the individual judge and use of the board procedure in the selection of candidates. As has been stated previously, early research studies, as well as more recent ones, have pointed out the limited predictive power of the interview conducted by an experienced expert. (Mischel, 1965, Dicken, 1969, Smith 1966, and Harris, 1972) From the earliest years, however, the architects of the Peace Corps selection procedures, showed foresight in capitalizing on the merits of a board or group judgmental procedure. The practice was to constitute a review board half-way through training and then to have the same board reconvene at the end of training, in the former instance, to review the performance of all trainees, and in the latter instance, to reach decisions concerning approval for two years of service in the field as a Volunteer. As previously stated, this system was in effect until 1970, and was then phased out. Although the reasons for eliminating the board system were complex, it appears that a renewed focus on self-selection by the Volunteer and a disenchantment with the recurring apprehensions and anxieties generated by the board proceeding among trainees, as well as among many staff members, led to the final disappearance of the system. Although it was shown that the board system probably had better predictive power than any other method of selection (Harris, 1972), the negative aspects eventually outweighed the positive features. As it functioned however, the board was broad in membership and as a method of insuring input of relevant information about the candidate and of minimizing bias, the system was probably as effective and fair as any that has been devised for work in the field. The board system was replaced by a major emphasis on self-selection by the trainees, and when necessary, final decision-making by the Country Director, a staff employee of the Peace Corps.

Training in the Host Countries

In more recent years, a steady shift of policy has resulted in the establishment of training in the host countries for most programs. Language instruction, as well as the development of technical performance skills and specially planned cross-cultural experiences are now arranged in the country of service. This means that the three environments of Staging, Training, and the Field have now been collapsed into two, by elimination of the intermediate training site. The minor disadvantage seems to be the cost of long distance travel for trainees, and possibly, in some instances, less intense concentration on the academic aspects of training, but the major advantage is the exposure of the individual candidate to the field setting with which he will finally interact, thus reducing the need for simulated cross-cultural experiences or simulated physical environmental conditions in the training site.

Staging

Prior to departure for the field setting, two systems of initial review of candidates have been developed in recent years. The pre-invitational staging involves assembly of candidates from all areas of the nation at an appropriate staging site for orientation, presentations of color slides, brochures, posters, and booklets about the host country, and individual and group interviews extending for a four or five day period. This permits both staff and candidates to reach a decision concerning suitability of candidates prior to official acceptance into the organization; and, as a staging procedure, it has been valued for the ethical aspect of reviewing candidates prior to admission into the Peace Corps.

In addition, the comprehensive staging, which may extend for two or three days, is conducted after the candidate has been accepted into the organization and has packed his belongings for transfer to the host country. Both types of staging operations have continued in operation until the present time. Although effective prediction of future success is no longer the unrealistic objective that it was in the earlier days of staging operations, these procedures do permit the screening out of candidates who might present obvious problems of adjustment in another country.

Although training for some programs is still conducted at an intermediate station, the staging plus training in the field constitute the present system of selection and placement for Peace Corps Volunteers. It is obvious that both the selection boards and the high powered computer methods of selection were casualties in the evolution of policy. Nevertheless, what we now have as selection procedures may represent the best that we can hope to achieve in the forseeable future. The placement of intensive training in the country has circumvented the necessity of concentrating on statistical methods of assessment and prediction, although it has been clearly demonstrated in many research studies during the past 25 years, that an effective system of statistical prediction will, in nearly all cases, prove more efficient than a human judgmental one. (Meehl, 1954, Wiggins, 1973)

The additional major changes in policy in the early 1970's involved (a) the elimination of the Civil Service full field background investigation, except in special cases when serious doubts arise regarding suitability after the invitation has been extended, and replacement of the full field with a National Agency Check, which screens for criminal record; (b) change of emphasis in recruitment from a major focus on the "B.A. Generalist" to a concerted effort to locate experienced specialists in many occupations. The latter has obviously added to the Peace Corps many persons in higher age brackets, and has been accompanied by experiments with recruitment of whole families for service in the field. Although each of these changes involved some initial resistance, it appears at this point, that both have become an established part of Peace Corps policy. Regardless of the extent to which changing policy may leave us unimpressed with the achievements of quantitative psychology in the Peace Corps setting, it may have demonstrated that a reasonable, common-sense approach to selection, primarily in the form of self-selection, is a realistic aspiration, given the limitations of an operational setting of this type. The success of this operation has been very much dependent, however, on the shift of training to the host country.

Having reviewed these several aspects of the selection procedure, perhaps we should focus on the cultural adaptational aspects of the Peace Corps experience. A few anecdotes may point out the difficulty of prediction even under the most elaborate of selection systems.

(a) A highly sensitive dreamy-eyed female Volunteer who has been discouraged from proceeding from a training site to the host country for service under the former system of training at an intermediate site, proves to be one of the most successful Volunteers on a Pacific island. When asked why the contradiction, she replies that her sensitivities and her imaginativeness, which were regarded as liabilities in training, proved to be assets. In the new environment, she was forced to fall back on her inner resources to a degree greater than in her own home country, and she proved to have the resilience to adapt.

(b) A rather obese female Volunteer unaccustomed to attention or affection from the males in her own home society finds herself flattered by the attention of males in a Polynesian society which values such an attribute in women. This poses a new problem of controlled response to previously unexperienced attention, in the face of a long history of feelings of rejection in her relations with males.

(c) A male Volunteer who seemed stable during training, becomes highly anxious, depressed, and withdraws completely from contacts with members of his village when sent to the host country.

A number of such anecdotes might involve withdrawal behavior, lack of reinforcement of adaptive behavior, and inability to avoid aversive situations. Other anecdotes might point out strengths that were not present originally. Any cross-cultural experience may elicit adaptive or maladaptive behaviors that were not exhibited in the original environment; in addition, we note, in some cases, that behavior which might be judged clinically maladaptive proves to be adaptive in some environments.

Each anecdote involves a post hoc analysis of a problem in prediction. Why was the prediction in error? Under the best of statistical circumstances, we will have errors of predictive judgment as represented in the cases cited above. Each case involves some aspect of the phenomenon which we call "cultural adaptation or interaction," and the phenomenon itself involves in turn, cognitive, emotional, and behavioral components. We may easily talk about cognitive flexibility, emotional and behavioral adaptability, but our problem is in defining each of these components. We have two possible ways of approaching this problem: (a) Breaking up the larger unit, such as cognitive flexibility, into smaller more concrete units of behavior. If we have difficulty in grasping the significance of flexibility, then by this method, we attempt to define more elementary observable units of behavior which constitute flexibility. (b)Another way of dealing with the problem is to stick to larger units of behavior, but to determine that interjudgmental agreement or the behavioral element is sufficient to permit utilization of the quality as an assessment unit. The latter method has been used in my own research. In no way could I pretend to have described in detail the many facets of "cultural sensitivity" or "adaptability," but the total set of behaviors which constituted "cultural sensitivity" was sufficiently meaningful to permit at least minimally adequate agreement among judges.

It is possible that our ability to identify cross-cultural talent may always be restricted to these two methods of labeling behavior. However, it is possible also to improve the validity of the labeling process itself by introducing cross-cultural exercises which tap the individual's capacity for exhibiting in laboratory type settings the qualities of cognitive flexibility, emotional spontaneity or adaptability, and the range and ease of behavioral response to a wide variety of unfamiliar or incongruent stimuli. These exercises may take the form of structured or unstructured verbal presentations to the subject, responses to complex or conflicting sensory stimuli, games, exercises in gesturing, exercises in the foreign language, and various projects in group communication. Whatever the style of exercise, the analysis of observations must take account of nonverbal, as well as verbal aspects of behavior.

Some investigators have become disenchanted with the assessment and labeling procedures, as futile efforts to predict the future, and have chosen to concentrate their efforts on the training of individuals to exhibit behaviors which emerge as culturally sensitive behavioral manifestations (Downs, 1970, David, 1972, Tucker, 1973, Guthrie, 1975, and Brislin and Pedersen, 1975). Brislin and Pedersen (1975) have summarized these approaches in a new book. Outside the Peace Corps setting, self-administered programmed culture training manuals, called culture assimilators, have been developed for several countries (Fiedler, Mitchell, and Triandis, 1971), and may eventually prove to be useful for the Peace Corps training programs. The focus is on change of behaviors rather than on a static labeling system. The assumption is that most, if not all, candidates in a training program can show improvements in cultural sensitivity regardless of basic rigidity or other limitations of personality. As presented by David, the cross-cultural training consists of predeparture training, arrival training (in the country), and intermittent follow-up training. In applying the principles of reinforcement from learning theory, David indicates that the sojourner must (a) learn the stimulus cues (i.e. his own behaviors) that are necessary to attain reinforcers and to avoid punishers, (b) transfer and modify present reinforcing systems and develop new reinforcers (e.g. transferring rewarding behaviors from the home environment to the host country's environment), and (c) change, neutralize, or avoid punishers (e.g. making errors in speaking the host country language). Much of the learning which takes place in the cross-cultural setting can also be conceptualized in the theoretical framework of modeling or imitation.

A number of games and exercises in role playing have been described by Downs (1970). For example, in a role playing exercise involving status, a trainee might be required to relate to a professor, to a waitress, or to a governmental dignitary. Or another exercise might involve identification of ethnic stereotypes or occupational stereotypes from brief enactments of the roles. The opportunities for originality in developing such exercises are almost unlimited. The primary objective must be kept in mind, however, by the inventor of the technique: the trainee's behavior must be modified in such a way that he is capable of producing a new set of responses to the complex new situations. The responses are, of course, already within the repertoire of the trainee, but have not been evoked or inhibited in response to this type of stimulus pattern. From a behavior modification point of view, the development of new reward or reinforcement contingencies must be established to guide the emission of new responses to the cross-cultural situation. The reader is referred to the chapter in this volume by Hautaluoma and Kaman for an interesting and relevant description of cross-cultural experiences of Peace Corps Volunteers in Afghanistan.

Summarizing this overview of the shifts in policy from 1961 through the early 1970's, we find the following major changes:

(a) Reduced emphasis and final elimination of all tests or techniques of personality assessment, and all tests of ability in the selection process, with the exception of an administration of the Foreign Service Institute test at the end of training to measure proficiency in language. Tests, in general, were phased out for lack of predictive validity and personality inventories were subject also to the general problems of invasion of privacy.

(b) Acknowledgement of the lack of predictive validity of the interview, although both individual and group interviews have continued to be of value as initial methods of screening out obviously unsuitable candidates in the staging operations developed in recent years.

(c) Elimination of the board proceeding, primarily on the grounds of apprehensions generated among trainees by the entire proceeding and additional considerations of the cost. This involved also the elimination of peer ratings, which were a major source of anxiety in the entire selection procedure.

(d) Primary emphasis on self selection by the trainee, with final decision-making being vested in the Country Director in consultation with the training director and staff instead of the selection board headed by a field selection officer.

(e) Steady shift of training from an intermediate site to the host country.

(f) Emphasis on recruitment of individuals with occupational experience covering a wide range of ages and including, in some cases, entire families, although fiscal considerations have now nearly eliminated the placement of families.

(g) Elimination of the Civil Service full field background review.

In what perspective can we place these several major changes? The Peace Corps has proceeded through a wide arc, if not a full circle, in experimenting with total personality review systems, well researched personality inventories, a board system comparable to that of the military organizations, and simulated training in intermediate training sites. In this evolution of policy, quantitative psychology did not gain a strong foothold, and although it might have made a better showing if systematic research reviewed and conducted by a panel of experienced investigators had been employed, the complexities of field experience in the Peace Corps are such that common sense methodology might have prevailed with or without optimal opportunity for quantitative methods. With cost efficiency as a major consideration, the initial staging operation plus training in the host country provides a highly collapsed and condensed procedure that probably, in the long run, accomplishes the task as effectively as one might expect.

Having made all of these observations, the question remains as to whether we have now acquired sufficient scientific knowledge of a positive, as distinct from a negative, nature, to permit the rapid development of a new system of screening, evaluation, training, and prediction for field service, if the occasion should arise in the future, as it did with the Office of Strategic Services during World War II (OSS staff, 1948) or with the launching of the Peace Corps on short notice in 1961. Under such circumstances, the new organization would still be faced with the major problems of (a) developing adequate criteria of performance and adaptation in the field; (b) either simulating the conditions of the final field environment in an intermediate training setting, or conducting training in the final field setting, and (c) developing computer methods of prediction when it is possible to formulate adequate sets of predictor variables. It would seem desirable to develop a decision-making process very early in the establishment of an organization to determine whether great expenditure of effort in the direction of quantitative prediction would provide a more effective system than the step-by-step common sense, empirical approach. Whatever the potential merits of heavy emphasis on the computer approach to prediction, it is now apparent for an organization which arranges field placements for persons of a wide range of ages and occupational backgrounds in such diverse settings as does the Peace Corps, that the advantages of the highly quantitative predictive system have not been clearly established.

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DESCRIPTION OF PEACE CORPS VOLUNTEERS EXPERIENCE IN AFGHANISTAN

JACOB E. HAUTALUOMA AND VICKI KAMAN[1]
DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY
COLORADO STATE UNIVERSITY

The purpose of this study was to learn about the life experiences of Peace Corps Volunteers overseas, with the ultimate goal of improving the selection and training of volunteers. A need for such information became apparent to the senior author while he participated in Peace Corps training programs as an evaluator and trainer of volunteers. Moving from one culture to another is a complex human experience. It can be very enriching, but it is often associated with stress. "Culture shock" is a phrase used to describe the frustration felt by a person when his old patterns of doing and understanding are not useful in new settings. Many organizations have used a variety of strategies to help prevent undue culture shock and guarantee good acceptance by host-country contacts when a person is sent overseas.

The Peace Corps has had to contend with cross-cultural transition for more inexperienced persons than most organizations, and it has used several methods to ensure a satisfactory movement overseas for its volunteers. In its early years, from 1961 until about 1969, the Peace Corps emphasized the careful selection of volunteers to screen out persons who might be poor risks for cross-cultural adaptation. While a number of researchers have investigated possible methods of selection (Dicken, 1969; Ezekiel, 1968; Fischer, Epstein, & Harris, 1967; Guthrie & McKendry, 1963; Hare, 1966; Shybut & Uhes, 1971; Smith, 1966; Uhes & Shybut, 1971), the matter of predicting overseas success from a knowledge of personal characteristics and performance in training still has some inherent problems. (See also the article by Harris, this volume.)

One difficulty in selecting volunteers is that little is known about which personal qualities lead to good adaptation overseas, although it has been assumed they are much the same as those associated with positive mental health. Another problem is that the situations of measurement for selection purposes are not representative of overseas life. Hare (1966), for instance, suggested that the predictability of volunteer performance in the field might be greatly influenced by the situations in which volunteers work. He concluded that volunteers who were "restricted in their performance," because of sex (female) or area, did not show as high a correlation between their performance in U.S. training and that in the host country as those volunteers in "freer" situations.

Besides careful selection of volunteers, almost all Peace Corps training programs have attempted to teach the host-country's language and technical skills which would be useful to the volunteers in their jobs overseas. In addition, most programs have offered "cross-cultural" training, using methods ranging from giving lectures on customs and geography to providing living-in experiences in the culture of the volunteer's assignment. The goal of cross-cultural training is to give the volunteer an idea of what life will be like once he changes cultural scenes. A perpetual problem, especially for cross-cultural trainers and for those persons responsible for predicting success overseas, has been a lack of knowledge concerning life conditions of volunteers overseas. In a recent article, Harris (1973) pointed out the need to identify the environmental factors influencing the performance of volunteers in the field. So far, the empirical literature on such factors is very limited. Jones and Pepper (1972) offered an exception in their study of the socio-economic and linguistic qualities of countries in which volunteers serve. They found that volunteers were more likely to terminate early when assigned to countries with high linguistic standardization and high levels of social and economic development. They state that these countries have been exposed to more foreign cultures than other countries where the Peace Corps serves and that the volunteers there were seen as being less "unusual." They argued that the "unusualness" of a volunteer is related to his likelihood of completing service.

Another study, by Spradley and Phillips (1972), attempted to find what it is that an individual responds to in a new culture. They derived a list of 33 items which were frequently mentioned as important aspects of cultural readjustment. Their subjects, who were returned Peace Corps volunteers, Chinese foreign students in the U.S., and U.S. students, rated the amount of adjustment necessary to cope with each aspect. In addition to indicating that use of a foreign language was the most difficult adjustment, their results suggested that adjustment is more difficult in situations where the appropriate behavior is less restricted in the new cultural environment than in the native one. Thornton's (1969) research on ecological dimensions in the lives of volunteers in Micronesia is another study in this vein.

The present study was an effort to learn of the phenomenological life dimensions of Peace Corps volunteers while they were serving in Afghanistan. A systematic attempt was made to gain data about as many perceptions of their daily life, environment, and personal and social presses as was possible in a four-six hour interview. It was hoped that what would emerge would be descriptions of important life dimensions of volunteers around which training experiences could be constructed, and more realistic selection counseling could be based.

Method

Subjects. Eighteen Peace Corps volunteers serving in Afghanistan were individually interviewed in the field. Nine volunteers had been gone from the United States only six months, and the other nine were just finishing their two-year assignments. Eleven were male and seven female. There were two Black volunteers. Eight of them lived in Jalalabad, a warm valley city near the Khyber Pass; four were in Kabul, the capital city; three in Kandahar, a desert provincial capital; two in Lashkar Gah, a desert town; and one was in Laghman, a little mountain village near Kabul. Among them were six teachers of English as a foreign language, two physical education teachers, two mathematics teachers, and one each of nurse, agricultural specialist, secretary, accountant, art teacher, biology teacher, teacher trainer, and physician. The sex, ethnic group, geographical placement, and job types of the volunteers interviewed represented distributions of these variables for their volunteer tenure groups.

Procedure. The senior author selected the sample of volunteers to interview, and then he either traveled to their home-sites or met them as they came on visits to Kabul. The interview schedule had been constructed in the U.S. before it was used overseas. Its content was designed to cover all the major activities of the volunteer and his thoughts and feelings while doing them. The specific items of the questionnaire are discussed one by one in the Results section. All the data were gathered within a one month period, and the volunteers were extremely cooperative and interested in the study.

Results

Average Day. The first question asked the volunteers to describe their activities on an average day. They were asked at what time they did the activity, how long it took, and what they thought about and felt while they were doing it. All of the volunteers chose a work day as an average day. After breakfast, usually cooked by a servant, most of them biked to their jobs. Many of them mentioned looking around as they rode and thinking positively of Afghanistan. Morning, in general, seemed to be a good time, while the afternoon, just before the work day ended, was a low point. The work itself varied from being extremely demanding (for most of the new volunteers and the physician) to being too easy. Those with too little to do openly questioned the worth of their being in Afghanistan. Most of the volunteers went home or out for lunch and looked on it as a necessary respite. Six of them said they were tired by noon. The afternoon schedule was usually spent in preparing for the next day and was less structured than the morning. Evening was used for visiting and reflection and was a good time, although the volunteers became introspective then. The evenings in the winter were a problem to many volunteers because the electricity was often out and they could not read. Reading was the major non-work activity mentioned.

All the new volunteers, those who had been in Afghanistan only six months, thought a great deal about frustrations on their jobs and many thought about leaving the Peace Corps. At work they also thought about the evening or their vacations. Some other major preoccupations were: conflicts with housemates; sexual frustration, especially for the males; and their own depression. Many of them mentioned sleeping for overly long periods, mostly during the early months of service. Eating times were longer than in the U.S., but they were usually described as rewarding periods to be savored. The evening meal, in particular, was viewed as a time of reflection on the day or their lives in Afghanistan. A few volunteers mentioned language lessons as part of their average day, and several said they attempted to facilitate their personal growth by the use of easily available hashish.

In many ways the average day of the older volunteers, those at the end of their two-year assignments, was like that of the newer ones. Some major exceptions were the greater routinization of life for those who had been in Afghanistan longer, and a larger capacity for, or an interest in, dealing with Afghan counterparts and students. The older volunteers used more individualistic terms to describe Afghans, and they had more Afghan visitors in their homes. The older volunteers also tended to live alone, or with less people than did newer volunteers, and they mentioned less trouble with their roommates. This conclusion must be moderated by their statements that they had often had trouble with other volunteer roommates during their first year, but they had then settled into more amicable relationships, often with other roommates, after a trial period. Work frustration seemed less for the older group, but loneliness and sexual frustration was at a high level for at least a sizable minority of them. The older volunteers were less likely to perseverate on the changes that were taking place in them daily, although most of them were significantly touched by their experiences. A major concern was their imminent transition to the U.S., and they cast themselves into the future more than did the newer volunteers. The single females in the older group were particularly conscious of their marriage potential.

Exceptions to the Average Day. The volunteers were asked to describe the major variations to their average day, how much time they spent on them, and what they thought about and felt while doing them. The major exception for the whole sample was Friday, the Moslem religious day. Most of the volunteers read, worked around the house, visited, or were visited then. Another variation mentioned infrequently was Ramazan, the Moslem religious month, when little work is done and the volunteers had more time to fill. The rainy season in Kandahar, which lasted for a month, was mentioned too. More specific variations for the newer volunteers were visits from students, behavior differences of students in classes, and conflicts among volunteers. The older volunteers mentioned Friday and vacations as their major variations. Several of them also discussed special projects they were doing at work, including workshops for Afghans, a Poor People's clinic, special afternoon classes, or counseling with students. Trips to Kabul or some other Afghan city away from home were cited several times. Parties were mentioned by about half of this group as a variation.

Differences from other Volunteers: A series of questions was asked concerning how the volunteer saw his situation as being different from that of other volunteers in Afghanistan, what he did that was different, how much of it he did, and how he felt about doing it. The questions were designed to learn of the stereotypes about volunteers which were held by volunteers, as well as what the volunteers themselves experienced. Four of the newer volunteers mentioned as differences the greater or lesser structure of their jobs (specificity of expectations and task demands, regularity of hours, necessity to "create" the job). The teachers, in general, liked their jobs better than the other volunteers, because their tasks were usually more concretely specified and they had enough to do. Other differences in work situations were mentioned by those who: worked more with Americans (and, therefore, spoke the Afghan languages less); worked with higher-class or more intellectual or friendlier Afghans; had brighter students; got more backing from AID and the Afghan government; or did physical work. Using English, riding in automobiles rather than on bicycles, and studying a great deal were activities also mentioned by newer volunteers as distinguishing them.

The responses of the older volunteers were quite similar to those of the newer group, with the following among their uniquely felt differences: having no trouble with the Peace Corps staff; going to church; staying in during the evening; living in an isolated location; saying things in class that were challenging to the Afghan social system; and feeling responsible for doing a good job. Only one of the older volunteers mentioned job structures as a difference, but four of them emphasized that they related more to Afghans than did other volunteers. They held the stereotype that Peace Corps volunteers, in general, did not relate well to Afghans.

Although the sample was representative, only one person in the whole group mentioned that he had a harder life than other volunteers, with a number saying that they had it easier. This suggests that most of the respondents may not have had an accurate view of the living conditions of other volunteers.

Similarities to other Volunteers. The questions on differences were followed immediately by some concerning those aspects of the respondents' lives which were similar to the lives of other volunteers in Afghanistan. Five of the newer volunteers emphasized that everyone was frustrated, both on their jobs and outside of them. In general, the new volunteers were more negative in their responses than were the older volunteers, although negativity was not absent from either group. Some common sources of frustration were: a lack of job satisfaction; a lack of contact with Afghans, often because of poor language ability; dislike of Afghans (mentioned infrequently); few heterosexual possibilities; loneliness; thinking about leaving; and the baksheesh system (tipping, bribing, and purchasing favors). On the positive side, it was stated by three new volunteers that they had in common a sense of purpose and a desire to do a good job. It was generally felt that receiving mail from home was very important to all volunteers. A few new volunteers stressed that they were like others in that they liked to meet Afghans and to visit villages.

The older volunteers were more likely to assume that the interviewer knew what a volunteer was like. They often said that their work, life style, and socialization with the Afghans were common between them. They also felt they were like others in that most volunteers came to serve Afghanistan, and to develop themselves.

Troublesome Things. Several questions were asked about the outstanding events or features of the volunteers' lives. The first set of these dealt with the things or situations that caused the volunteers the most trouble, those that were hard for them to do, and those that were hard to understand. Speaking the Afghan languages was mentioned by at least six new volunteers as being either troublesome or hard to do. It related to a number of other difficulties, such as going out of one's house alone, meeting Afghans, and doing one's job well. Job-related troubles mentioned frequently were: submitting to authority, overcoming the expectation that one would be accepted as an authority, being put down by Afghans and occasionally by other Americans because of being seen as an ill-prepared amateur, disciplining children whose reactions were unexpected, lowering one's goals markedly, working with people with whom it was difficult to get along, learning to work without reward or a feeling of being needed, and tolerating red-tape. Difficulties during the first days on the job were the most common responses about work.

These findings are similar to those of Thompson and English (1964), who gathered data on volunteers returning prematurely to the U.S. during September, 1961, to January, 1963. They found that the volunteers returning because of adjustment problems had often been assigned jobs which did not match their previous training. Many of the volunteers interviewed for the present study were not trained as professional teachers or agriculturalists, and much of their job frustration was associated with learning how to do their jobs in Afghanistan.

Problems associated with living in Afghanistan involved: haggling for rent, setting up a house in a foreign country, social boredom, adjusting to the slower pace of life, isolation due to poor news coverage, getting sick or feeling afraid of disease and uncleanliness of food, feeling like a foreigner, feeling lonely, and not being able to gain gratification from the community.

The newer volunteers' personal relationships with other volunteers and other Americans were a surprising source of difficulty mentioned by five of them. A common complaint was their inability to discuss problems with housemates who had stresses of their own. The volunteers mentioned running out of things to talk about with housemates, and one said he didn't understand why his fellow volunteers complained so much. There was confusion among the volunteers about American foreign policy, of which they were part, and concerning the Peace Corps Staff's expectations for, and evaluations of, them. Those aspects of their lives which the newer volunteers found hardest to understand mostly concerned ways of doing things which differentiated the Afghan culture from their own, and they caused the most discomfort shortly after the volunteers' arrival. All but one of the newer volunteers mentioned cultural differences which caused difficulties. They found it difficult to comprehend the powerful influence of the Moslem religion; relationships between males and females; role of women and their poor education; use of the chaderi (the veil); Afghans' apparent lack of motivation to help their own country and improve their health and sanitary conditions; and bureaucratic procedures in the government and schools. The reactions of Afghans to the volunteers confused them. One volunteer said the Afghans always seemed to agree and say they would do something but then not do it. Another said he did not know why the volunteers were not received with more warmth by the Afghans.

The older volunteers had many of the same comments as the newer group. They remembered well the problems of the first few months, and the trials of language learning still persisted, but in a lessened form. Additional troublesome, work-related events mentioned by older volunteers included: being fondled by an amorous supervisor; having students fall in love with them or come, uninvited, to their house; having to teach unfamiliar subjects, having to tolerate incompetent administrators; being harrassed for giving harsh grades to poor classes; the gathering of large groups of students around teachers outside of class; and students' cheating. One older volunteer discussed how hard it was to define goals for herself in Afghanistan. She commented that her possibilities at work were largely governed by forces outside her control. She went on to say how hard it was to get recognizable successes as a volunteer. Another person described her difficulty in going to work when she was depressed.

Three of the volunteer women of the older group mentioned problems specific to them, such as: getting intentionally knocked off their bikes on the way to work, being thought of as whores because they wore Western clothes, being stared at, and hearing obscene comments directed to them. Getting along with Afghans was a continuing problem for the older volunteers. Relating to the Afghans socially, outside of work, where formal rules of interaction were not sufficient, was seen as a problem by six older volunteers. Having an honest discussion of important topics when volunteer language skills and Afghan knowledge levels were poor was seen as difficult. Inviting Afghan males, who lacked familiarity with

U.S. drinking and male-female relationship norms, to Peace Corps parties, also made for difficulties.

The older volunteers were somewhat more comfortable with many of the topics described as hard to understand by the newer volunteers, but understanding the role of women in Afghanistan stood out for them too. One woman said she could not understand how Afghan women could accept their state in life. Also confusing to them was how the Afghan students could remain so unquestioning. Many of this group said they had spent a great deal of time trying to induce a desire for learning in their students, but that they felt they had not been successful in most cases. The relationship between student and teacher in Afghanistan never became clear to some of these volunteers, and the prerogatives surrounding grading, discipline, and responsibility to excite students, as opposed to giving them the course syllabus everyday, remained a moderate mystery. One teacher did not know what incentive there was for Afghan students or teachers because the society seemed to hold so few opportunities.

Things disliked and liked. The next question asked about the things in the volunteers' situations that they particularly disliked. The succeeding question asked about what they liked. As might be expected, some of the things that were disliked were also listed as troublesome or hard to do above, and these repeated comments will not be mentioned again in this section. When talking about those things in their job situations which they disliked the most, three newer volunteers mentioned feeling guilty about not doing good work. One of these three disliked having to compromise her work standards, and another felt badly about being unable to train counterparts to be better teachers. Three other new volunteers talked about bad feelings at work resulting from their being liked only when needed, their being treated as rich foreigners, and competition between the Peace Corps, AID, and the Afghans.

Six of the newer volunteers disliked aspects of living in Afghanistan, including: their living situations, health fears surrounding food preparation and eating, problems in finding compatable housemates, and difficulties in establishing heterosexual relationships. In addition to these dislikes, the older volunteers also complained of having to monitor money given to servants, of not having servants, of a lack of mobility, and, for one person, of social isolation for his family. The Afghans' belief in and citing of the Koran without knowing or living by it, their subjugation of women and the poor, and their family system in government were included in the disliked aspects of the host country mentioned by six older volunteers. Two respondents mentioned some disliked qualities of fellow volunteers, including inflexibility, isolation from the community, and an unwillingness to try to get a positive experience.

Although both groups of volunteers liked similar things, the older ones described their reasons for liking things in greater depth, because they had been able to travel on vacations and had had a longer period in which to learn the nuances of life in Afghanistan. The volunteers mentioned as things that they liked the cohesiveness of Afghan families, the feast-like Afghan evening meals, the Peace Corps staff help, their own growth in awareness and strength, and their ability to do their jobs.

The mystique and contradictions of overseas life are illustrated in the volunteers' feelings concerning things they liked and disliked. For instance, although some Afghan characteristics were disliked, most volunteers were also very fond of certain Afghans, such as students, cooks, or shopkeepers; and they noted their warmth, friendliness, spontaneity, generosity, and openness. Even though the volunteers thought Afghanistan lacked a cosmopolitan atmosphere, the naturalness of the environment and not being barraged by mass media was appreciated by eight of the volunteers. The negative aspects of working and living in Afghanistan were coupled with the liked features of having a chance to teach, speaking a foreign language, living in a foreign country, being independent, and having free time to think and educate oneself.

Expectations. An important part of anyone's transition to a new way of life is the set of expectations he holds before he arrives. Two questions on expectations were asked. The first asked what it was that the volunteer had expected from Afghanistan or the Peace Corps, but did not find once he arrived. This was followed with a question asking in which ways his expectations had been correct. These questions were a partial check on the validity of the sets which had been given the volunteers from their three-month Peace Corps training program. Not surprisingly, the newer volunteers' expectations were fresher in their memories than were those of the older volunteers. One of the most common responses to these questions, given by ten of the eighteen volunteers, was that the volunteer did not or tried not to have any expectations. Since the volunteers had been led to understand all sorts of things from their training, and most of them went on to list a number of confirmed or disconfirmed expectations, it seems that the volunteers' initial reactions to this question were misleading. A likely reason for the response is that the retrospective nature of the question precluded accurate recall of what people expected when they first arrived.

Seven of the nine new volunteers said that they had expected living in Afghanistan to be worse than it actually was. Several said Peace Corps advertising had advanced the idea of the volunteers living at an isolated site in a mud hut, and none of these persons experienced such conditions. Some volunteers said they were not living at a lower level than they had in the U.S. Five of the new volunteers mentioned that they had not expected the disintegration of the closely knit Peace Corps training groups once they arrived overseas. They had also not expected the lack of Peace Corps staff support and "ideal" volunteers and staff, characterized by a strong esprit de corps and feelings of commitment to service. In addition, one new volunteer thought that they would be less restricted by the staff, more immersed in the Afghan culture, and in less contact with other volunteers and staff members. A few new volunteers said that their working conditions were better than expected, but two of them said they had expected more clearly defined jobs, and one was surprised by the bureaucratic structure of the schools and universities.

Although the expectations concerning Afghanistan and its people were mostly correct, many of the newer volunteers said they had not expected some of the conditions which had been tabooed topics in their training program. The Afghan instructors had found it difficult to discuss the chaderi, male homosexuality, and other topics during training, so the volunteers had some incorrect expectations surrounding them. Other topics, especially involving evaluations of food or entertainment, were conveyed in a positive manner by the training staff, and some of the volunteers felt let down when they finally experienced the same things their instructors had talked about. For example, a particular restaurant in Kabul, used as a haunt by Afghan males, turned out to be a disappointment to volunteers who went there. Training programs create certain kinds of sets to help protect the volunteer, but one of the Black volunteers felt that there was not as much prejudice as she had been led to believe by her trainers.

One volunteer described the matter of expectations as being one of degree rather than content. She said she had been alerted to most of what she eventually saw, but the variations in degree often surprised her. Aspects of life in Afghanistan which were expected but appeared to an unexpected degree included: the large number of English-speaking Afghans; the number of other foreign missions working in Afghanistan; the development of Kabul; so much squatting rather than standing; events going so slowly, the less than expected amount of disease; so much dirt; the way baksheesh runs the society; and the number of volunteers who used hashish. The older volunteers' disconfirmed expectations were much the same as those listed above. Three said they had thought that the living conditions would be worse than they were, and that they might see more "Nepal-type" volunteers who were living under very adverse conditions. Several mentioned their loss of idealism, and that their estimations of how much they would accomplish had been lowered more than they had expected. The loneliness felt by the Peace Corps volunteers led to many male and female volunteers' living together, which some respondents had not expected. One volunteer was surprised that, at the time of the interview, the formerly mundane aspects of life in the U.S., such as bowling alleys and supermarkets, seemed more exotic to her than Afghanistan. Some older volunteers had expected more excitement from the Afghans about where their country was going. Others had thought the Afghans would have a greater cosmopolitan attitude and tolerance of western ideas. The Afghan men's attitude toward foreign women turned out to be much stronger than had been expected. There was less variety in the answers concerning confirmed expectations than about unexpected aspects of the volunteers' lives. The common response, given by 13 volunteers, was that much of what the volunteers experienced had been expected. The more general confirmed expectations concerned: the picture of Afghan land, cities, and classrooms and the fact that they had a great deal of free time.

Five volunteers went out of their way to mention in criticism of their training that their trainers had described Afghanistan from their own peculiar points of view, as they had to, but that they all made errors. The Afghan trainers, for instance, stayed away from delicate topics, and they did not understand how an American would react in Afghanistan. The returned volunteers who had participated in the training program were described as having had outstanding job situations and success while they were volunteers, and hence they were selected to be on training staffs; but the expectations they created for the average volunteer were erroneous. It appears very difficult to create an accurate set for a person entering service in a foreign country, and probably the best that can be done is to suggest that any of a number of possible experiences can occur. The usefulness of knowledge concerning what the potential problems might be has been pointed out by Brislin and Van Buren (1974), who prepared students at an international educational institution for the potential problems involved in going home ("reverse culture shock"). The rationale behind discovering potentially troublesome experiences is that worrying and thinking about them before they occur can help one to deal with them if they do happen. The discovery of possible overseas experiences for Peace Corps volunteers, as much as anything else, is a prime reason for this study.

Reactions to environment. The next set of questions asked the volunteers to discuss their feelings about the climate of Afghanistan; their living arrangements; the sanitary conditions; their job facilities; and their physical location with respect to distance from places, altitude, and temperature. Barker (1968), in his book on ecological psychology, points out the importance of describing the environment in which behavior takes place if environment-behavior relations are to be understood. He points out the lack of knowledge in psychology concerning individual variations under different environmental conditions, and the fact that "scientific" psychology has been more concerned with differences between individuals rather than differences in an individual's behavior in different settings. Two sources of similarity between behavior and the "nonpsychological milieu" described by Barker are "physical forces" and "physiological processes." The questions in this section on the volunteers' environments sought information on how physical forces may have produced some types of behavior (e.g., those in isolated places stayed home more) and how physical conditions, such as climate, affected behavior through physiological processes (e.g., discomfort due to heat). Almost all the volunteers liked the climate where they were, regardless of their home site. However, seven volunteers, three from Kabul, said that winters were too cold. Classrooms at some job sites were not heated. In the volunteers' homes, sometimes pipes froze, leaving them without water. Jalalabad was considered a choice area most of the time, but all the volunteers moved out in the summer because of the extreme heat. Those volunteers in the desert liked it too, but it was hot and dry except for the winter. They also moved out in the summer because of the heat. The other main complaint about the environment (made by three volunteers) concerned dust, which was prevalent when it was windy.

Six volunteers reported concern about living conditions, but they said they had been bad at first and then became better. As often as not, poor roommate relationships were the reason for a negative evaluation of living conditions, but it also seemed necessary to spend a certain period of time after arrival just setting up a house. Getting out into the community to buy home furnishings was a threatening process at first, and several volunteers said they did not take enough initiative to do it. Although some complaints were voiced about living situations, and the volunteers in the largest city, Kabul, felt they could not afford decent living conditions on their salaries if they lived alone, other volunteers said they were close to being ashamed of living too comfortably. The sanitary conditions, deemed appalling by most of the new volunteers at first, were generally accepted later on and were not a major worry. Almost everyone continued to boil their water and clean their food, but they did not follow the stringent health practices recommended by the Peace Corps physicians. The large number of flies bothered some volunteers, and one female volunteer said she had special problems with the sanitary facilities because there were none for women at her school. She partially solved the problem by making an arrangement with a volunteer whose house was only one block from the school.

Twelve of the volunteers felt their job facilities were sufficient. A major exception was the physician, who said he had students and patients, but not much more. The nurse, too, said she did not have many supplies, and when she got them they disappeared before she could use them. One teacher had to carry his supplies with him to and from school, as he had no desk or work place in which to leave his belongings.

Their physicial locations in Afghanistan were judged as good by 13 of the 18 volunteers, but volunteers in the far southern desert sites said there were no interesting places close by to visit. They felt they needed to visit the more cosmopolitan city of Kabul every three months, which they were encouraged to do. The volunteer in the mountain village liked his area, but worried about the possibility of medical help if he or his roommate should become ill.

Relationships with Afghans. The next questions asked the volunteer to describe his relationships with, and feelings toward, Afghans on the job, in the bazaar or in town, and socially. They also asked what the volunteer would like to have had different in his relationships with Afghans. One of the major findings of this section was that few volunteers develop good informal social relationships with non-English speaking Afghans. Relationships at work were generally good; in the bazaar they were frequent and formal; but informal social relationships were less common. Proficiency in language, or lack of it was a prime determiner of relationships with Afghans. The newer volunteers were able to get along on their jobs with either English, a sketchy knowledge of Farsi or Pashto, or else with the help of counterparts. Every one of these alternatives contained certain problems. The use of English severely limited the range of Afghans one could contact. Speaking the Afghan languages was the best option, but was done with trepidation by new volunteers; and relying on a counterpart excessively, a little-chosen alternative, led to a loss of influence and status.

Most of the volunteers seemed to get along best with counterparts on their jobs or with their students. Two volunteers who did not have satisfactory relationships with their counterparts said it hindered their chances to socialize with other Afghans. Counterparts were described as an entry to other relationships. Being friendly, smiling, showing respect for the counterparts, and not threatening or humiliating them by instructing them in front of others, were suggestions offered by the volunteers on how to succeed with counterparts at work. One volunteer said that the persons she worked with were not like the Afghan instructors in her training program because her instructors had been well educated. Most teachers knew their students quite well; and, as might be expected, the older volunteers knew them best. While the teachers liked their students, one of them said it was hard to carry on a long-term conversation with any 12-14 year-old person. Several volunteers said that students were the Afghans most likely to extend invitations to the volunteers, and that these invitations were the basis of a number of social relationships. A strategy suggested for getting along with students was to be very firm and a disciplinarian at first and after the teacher's credentials are established to be friendly; but another volunteer said if the students liked him he could do no wrong, and he recommended being friendly from the beginning of the relationship. Several volunteers said they had trouble when they taught girls' classes, and that they preferred boys because they would talk to the teachers. The volunteers from the desert provinces liked their Afghan colleagues less than did those from anywhere else in the country. Their counterparts were anti-American and resistent to outside ideas and were not generally helpful to the volunteers. The language requirement there was strict, and the use of English little tolerated. Even the older volunteers described the area as hard to work in because of the unlikelihood of forming close relationships with Afghans. One volunteer said the Afghans there treated Afghans from other parts of the country in the same deprecatory way.

Most volunteers had little social life with Afghans outside of the job situation. Five volunteers said they could not speak well enough to develop relationships, or that often the Afghans and Americans were so different that there was not much to say when they could speak. Many volunteers had specific families, or some students, with whom they related outside of work, but in general, the range of contacts was small. At least 12 of the volunteers decried missing the opportunity to learn from the Afghans while they served as volunteers, but said they did not know how to meet more of them. Inviting Afghans to one's home was a possibility, but was limited by the need for a relatively big house and help in cooking Afghan food because the Afghans did not like the food cooked by the volunteers. One volunteer said it would be nice if there could be a neutral meeting ground for volunteers and Afghans. The tea houses were a suggested location for this purpose, but he said they were not suitable because Afghan teachers and professionals felt they were only for lower class people.

Although volunteers felt it necessary to visit Afghan homes to improve their language skills, some of them found the experience dull. The level of conversation was low, and they said that typically the volunteer and the Afghans ended up just staring at each other. The volunteers, including the women, mentioned that they rarely had a chance to visit with Afghan women when they went into homes. A few of the volunteers said they were most often invited to upper class Afghan homes, but they would have liked to have been able to visit poorer Afghans too. Other volunteers, however, said they liked visiting upper class Afghans. Many volunteers had an almost idyllic view of the provincial villages and said they wanted to visit more of them. It was interesting that many of the newer volunteers socialized more in out-of-work situations than the older ones. It seems that once a pattern of socializing is established, and if it is done early, it persists. Without a basis for socializing, language skills decrease, and the potential for socializing does not go up even if the volunteer is in the country longer. To moderate the conclusion that the older volunteers socialized less than the newer ones, it must be noted that many of the older group were from the desert cities where socializing was more difficult, and it should be recalled that the older volunteers said they were different from other volunteers because they interacted with Afghans.

In spite of mixed feelings about socializing with Afghans, at least 14 of the volunteers said they wished they could do it better. Four said they wanted to improve their language skills to socialize more. Two wanted more language immersion than they had in their work settings. Several wished they could understand their relationships with Afghans better, but they were pessimistic about that happening. Others wanted to be accepted just as people, rather than as something special. A male volunteer said he felt badly about the Afghans' apologizing for not giving him enough when he visited them. His Afghan host's belief that he was a rich foreigner and that they were not pleasing him was something he disliked. The same man said he would like to be closer to his students, but that was frowned upon in Afghan culture for discipline and seeming homosexual reasons.

Relationship with Americans. The volunteers were asked if they had enough contact with Americans, when and how they met them, about cliques and problems with them, and about the Peace Corps staff and the support they received from them. An additional question in this set asked if the volunteer felt lonely in the Peace Corps. All the newer volunteers felt they had enough contact with other Americans; even too much. Most of them liked meeting other volunteers and said they needed to; but others said the volunteers became too involved in each others' problems. To quote one volunteer, "When you have someone who will listen, you just complain." Similar comments were offered by the older volunteers. Although all of them felt they had enough contact with other Americans, one wished he could find a good friend among the volunteers, while three others felt that either physical or social distance from other volunteers was good. One person said he felt that the contact with the other volunteers was too intensive, because "when there are only a few of us in a site, the saturation level comes fast."

All of the newer volunteers mentioned some sort of problem in dealing with other volunteers. Although the members of this group wanted to live in bigger cities and with roomates at first, they seemed to take stock of themselves after a period of service and then wanted to try more things alone. One person said the volunteers set up norms of "in" and "out" things to do, and he felt they should be doing the "out" things to be good volunteers. As has been mentioned previously, roommate problems were common in the first year. Complaining was mentioned as a problem several times. Cliques formed, but most of the newer volunteers denied that they had great influence on their own lives. The older volunteers mentioned fewer problems with other Americans than did the newer group but a few more cliques. The basis for clique formation seemed to be age, probably overlapping the married couple cliques, and closeness to AID families. A common way to deal with interpersonal problems with other Americans for the older group was to withdraw from interaction for a period of time.

The relationships with the Peace Corps staff at the time of the interviews was rather tense. Twelve persons responded to the questions about the staff by indicating that most of the volunteers had not been visited on their jobs and that the staff did not know what the volunteers were doing, or that they had not been given needed support. The staff was described as nice people, but meddlers in personal affairs. The whole Peace Corps bureaucracy was derided, and the volunteers felt it got in their way. A gap seemed to exist between the volunteers and staff which was not bridged easily. The staff was especially criticized for not doing more complete site studies before the volunteers were placed on jobs. The older volunteers had several positive things to say about the staff, but they said they preferred little contact with them. Although the staff was given credit for helping the volunteers on occasion and for being a means of continuity between volunteer groups, five of the volunteers said they did not need much help on their jobs and in many cases the staff could not help them. The volunteers often tried to go to other foreign groups for financial help in their projects rather than to the Peace Corps. One volunteer said that the staff's feeling of the Peace Corps' being a "Great White Father" bothered both him and the Afghan officials. He said that, in spite of the staff, the volunteers defined the Peace Corps for themselves and that it was the volunteers, rather than the staff, who "owned" the Peace Corps.

The volunteers had a number of suggestions for change regarding their staff. Three felt it should be reduced in size and paid less. Several said more capable volunteers should be selected and then a large staff would not be needed. It was suggested that the staff get out into the provinces more and look at volunteers on their jobs, even though this might be resented by the volunteers at first. Seven of the interviewees wanted either more contact with the staff or to be able to speak more frankly with them about all kinds of things including drug usage, and they wished the staff had more confidence in them. The physician said there had to be a whole new set of standards from the staff for technical support, housing, and family allowance for volunteer professionals, who, he felt, could not be supported as other volunteers. A last suggestion was that the specific skills groups among the volunteers should have periodic meetings with the staff so better techniques of doing volunteer work could evolve during the Peace Corps' time in a country.

As for loneliness, seven new volunteers admitted to feeling it, as compared to only four older ones, but even the new ones said it had lessened since they first arrived. Many of the older volunteers talked about getting used to it. Loneliness was described in a number of ways. One person said he felt lonely in his convictions. Several others were lonely for a female presence, not just sexual contact. Still another said he felt intellectual loneliness because he did not have people to talk with about philosophy and religion. Bad times for loneliness were Fridays, often when one's roommates were away, and on holidays. One volunteer said, "then you have to face yourself." The volunteers said the married couples suffered less loneliness than single persons.

Difficulty getting started. The next set of questions asked the volunteers to think of when they first started their jobs in Afghanistan. They were asked if they had difficulty getting started, in what ways things were difficult, if there had been another volunteer on the job before, if AID or any other agency had worked there before, and how they thought having someone on the job before affected their taking over. All but four of the volunteers said getting started was hard. The four exceptions were persons who stepped into good ongoing situations where previous volunteers had initiated a program. The newer volunteers talked of not being able to do anything at work at first. There was a typical long period of waiting to go to work, except for the teachers. Some volunteers were just placed in towns with little official legitimacy for being there, and they found their jobs hard to shape. Weakness in language hurt most volunteers, and one said he continually wanted his counterpart "to teach just one more day" when he first started. Getting past red tape and coming to know students or colleagues took time too. One volunteer worried about being considered too much of an expert immediately after he started, but it was more common that the volunteers betrayed their inexperience early and had difficulty gaining respect later on. Most of the teachers had to learn how to teach in Afghanistan, and one volunteer said the first year of service was an extension of training. A female volunteer, the first woman in a boys' school, said she created a spectacle every time she came to class; and she eventually had to be transferred because of it. The older volunteers remembered difficulties such as becoming ill, being lonely at holidays, and wanting to resign. Many specifics about jobs had to be learned, but among the worst problems were learning to teach through translators, disciplining students, and dealing with cheating. At least two persons said they had started off in bad situations, but then transferred to better ones.

Eleven of the volunteers had stepped into positions that had been formerly held by other volunteers. In response to the questions on what the interviewees thought of having previous volunteers on their jobs, nine persons said it had an adverse effect. They did not give much credit to the previous volunteers and said that they typically left a bad set of habits in the client Afghan groups. A minor exception was the physician who said the previous physician had been different from himself, and he probably would not have survived in the medical school as it had evolved, but that he had done much of the groundwork to make the school go. Many of the interviewees said they had had to undo what the old volunteers had started, but a few said they had built on what had been done. Some of the few who were in new situations said they liked being the first volunteer on the scene. When asked about continuing difficulties after the first phase of their service, two new volunteers mentioned bad relationships with someone at work, usually an authority. The nurse said she was always short of supplies. Some job situations remained undefined and, therefore, troublesome. Surprisingly, almost half of the newer volunteers did not specify continuing difficulties. The older volunteers very often mentioned principals, deans, or supervisors with whom they could not get along as continuing problems. They specifically described the system of basing the assignment of good jobs in schools and government on family ties rather than job qualifications as the reason why incompetent people could hold responsible jobs in Afghanistan. Other problems mentioned were: disciplining students (a difficult problem for female volunteers), putting up with cheating, teaching an interest in learning, and convincing the Afghans that the volunteers were not rich. One person said she had to continually tell her students that Farsi was not taught in American schools. When asked if they thought the next volunteer coming in to fill their spots would have the same problems, ten persons said they would. The reason was that the situation would be approximately the same, and the new volunteer would have to learn about it and contend with it anew. Many volunteers said the number of problems would depend on the qualifications of the new person.

Several suggestions for preventing continuing problems were offered. The nurse said that an organization had to be set up to institutionalize some of the programs on which she had worked. She felt that a great deal of interpersonal work had been done, but that its effect would die after she left. Another person said that it was important to try to change ideas at the ministry level, as well as at the grass roots, if changes were to endure. Three persons said they were developing a file of information to give their replacement, and many said they wished they would have the opportunity to overlap with the new persons for a while. A problem with overlapping is that each volunteer may gain an advantage from the newness of his approach, a point made by the physician. Some volunteers said the new person should be able to defer some immediate responsibilities to learn about his site when he first arrives. Other suggestions on how to produce the optimum transition of a volunteer to his job included getting volunteers who were qualified for the jobs in the first place and choosing settings in which the Afghans sincerely want the volunteers' service. Three volunteers did not want a replacement and stated that they should have been doing things to work themselves out of a job and to put Afghans into it. One way to do this, according to them, is to give volunteers good counterparts who can take full responsibility for the tasks when the volunteer leaves. The use of counterparts, however, received contradictory remarks because they were both a source of help to volunteers and a competitive threat.

When asked if any difficulties were due to the unique personal ties a previous volunteer may have had with the Afghans, eight respondents said "no." Some exceptions had to do with certain behaviors demonstrated by the first volunteer which might be hard for another volunteer to follow. Excessive giving or buying things for Afghans was viewed as setting up expectations which could be hard to match for a new volunteer. A difference in skill or personality from the former volunteer could affect the one who followed. One teacher said the next volunteer in her spot might not make such attractive visual aids or keep the library going as well as she had, and that could hurt him. The physician said it would be hard for the next volunteer, because he himself had written a textbook in Farsi and had taken several medical residents to the U.S. with him. The next physician might not be able to do as much.

Doing things differently if given another chance. The last set of questions asked the volunteers to reflect on their service to date and to describe the things they wished they had done as volunteers but did not do. Since the newer volunteers had not yet even reached the midpoint of their tours, they had to reflect mostly on the beginning phases of volunteer life; while the older volunteers were getting ready for their termination conference and had their whole period of service to consider. The final question asked the volunteers to state what they would actually do differently if they were starting over again. The volunteers became very introspective in thinking about what they wished they had done. Most of them reflected on their personal failures. The most common response, given by eight of the volunteers, was that they wished they had had better interpersonal relationships with the Afghans. Two persons said they wished they had practiced the language more and had continued additional language training in a serious way. Another feeling expressed by eight volunteers was that they wished they had seen more changes that they felt would last. A few of them said they were not sure that teaching was the way to induce change. Some changes they desired had to do with the chaderi, women's rights, better teaching, and general modernization of the country. One volunteer who listed a number of creative ideas on how to teach Afghans said she wished she had done some of them, rather than allowing herself to fall into a routine. Five volunteers looked back on their early failures and said they wished they could have started more quickly. Several saw the early times as a chance to test their ability to be independent, and it hurt that they had failed. A few people talked of how it would have been better if they had taken more initiative, been more forceful, and been more persistent in following things up.

Other volunteers wished they had more power during their assignment. In reflecting upon her students, the nurse said that she had not helped select them, her grading had been overridden, and, usually, no one had attended to her evaluation of them. Associated with powerlessness was a wish that certain authorities could be replaced. Some volunteers wished they had been more skilled. The agriculture volunteer said he would like to have had credentials which would have impressed the Afghans, and the secretary would have liked some skill besides typing so she could have worked more with the Afghans.

The final question of the interview asked the volunteers to state what they would actually do differently, if they were starting all over. The most frequent response, given by five volunteers, was that they would go to a non-Moslem country, and, surprisingly, this came more often from the older than the newer volunteers. The answer represents the difficulty that many volunteers had in finding meaningful relationships among the Afghans and the frustrations associated with being in a very traditional country. Specifically mentioned were relationships with leaders, women, and upper-class persons, but Afghans in general were cited often too. One person said he wished he could like Afghans better than he did. Another common answer had to do with picking roommates. One person said he would not live with four Americans now that he knew what trouble it could bring. Another female said she would try to live alone sooner because she and her roommate had become known as a twosome, which made individuality difficult. The early phase of volunteer service was viewed as critical, and several volunteers talked about being more sure of work materials, expectations of others, and Peace Corps and Afghan support before they went to work. Other specific comments offered by the teachers were that they would: use more of their own materials in teaching instead of just those supplied by the education Ministry; try to teach courses matching their own skills and interests, or that would benefit particular groups of students, rather than just taking what was assigned; and use more audio visual aids.

Discussion

This study has three main benefits. First, it can be considered a beginning effort to discover dimensions of Peace Corps volunteers' life experiences. If these dimensions are found, training modules can be constructed around them and better volunteer counseling can be done. Another benefit is that the important aspects and possible difficulties of overseas life described by these volunteers in Afghanistan might be of interest to other persons anticipating overseas transitions, since it is likely that the experience of moving overseas has some generality. A final benefit is that the data offer a relatively complete description of Peace Corps volunteer life, albeit from only one country, for persons whose friends or relatives were volunteers, or for persons who must associate with former volunteers on a professional basis. Particularly, employers, teachers, or even therapists of former volunteers should benefit from an objective description of the volunteer experience. Many former volunteers claim to be misunderstood, and they do not suffer easily the transition back to the U.S. A better understanding of their lives overseas should lead to a more ready accommodation of them at home.

Frederikson (1972) wrote of the potential usefulness of a classification of situations through which predictions of behavior could be made. He suggested that a classification of situations be developed based on the similarity of behaviors elicited by the situations. This study can be considered a first step in the formulation of such a classification for Peace Corps volunteers' life situations, since it provided a sampling of situations which are important in their lives as well as a view of their reactions to, and feelings about the situations which influenced their behavior. A reasonable next step would be to develop good rating scales which can be used to assess overseas situations in general, so that comparisons of situations across societies can be made. One conclusion which can be drawn from the results is that experiences are not entirely common between volunteers. Instead, there are sets of possible experiences which can occur for any volunteer. The sets which are found depend on the situations into which a volunteer is placed and some personal characteristics he brings with him to the situations.

The results of the study suggest that some elements of the volunteers' situations which are important are: the clarity of the job position in which they are placed; the performance of previous volunteers in the job; the compatability of their roommates; the similarity of the host culture to their own; the basic values of the local people; the amount of control or power they have over their own situations; the initial opportunities and reinforcements they have for social contact; the degree of immersion they have in the culture; the amount of help they receive; the opportunity to speak the local language; the isolation of their locations; and many characteristics of the persons with whom a volunteer will interact. Among the characteristics of the local persons with whom the volunteer comes in contact which seem to be important are: their ability to speak English; the degree to which they see the volunteer as a resource person or as a threat to their own position; and their preparation and interest in accepting foreigners and Western ideas.

The personal qualities of volunteers which aid their acceptance overseas seem to be: good language skills; good job skills, along with certifications for public display to prove their skills; a non-youthful appearance; an ability to use humor; a capacity to appear strict and strong-willed without offending persons; a tolerance of, or relative imperviousness to, depression and loneliness; an ability to change when situations, such as roommate choice, are bad; an ability to deal with or tolerate bureaucratic systems which are different from their own, and are seemingly "immoral"; a capability to accept that things will be different from what might have been expected; an ability to not get into a routine with perpetuating self-disappointment; and an ability to cope with ambiguity in personal relations. A mix of situational demands and his own resources are what serve to define a volunteer's experience and his successes.

A suggestion for training using the information in this study is to introduce volunteers or other persons anticipating overseas transition to a weakened form of their potential experiences overseas before they leave the U.S. Arguments for such a strategy are suggested by the research on emotional innoculation. Papageorgis and McGuire (1961) suggest that if someone has to face an experience (counter-propaganda in their study) at some later time, one way to weaken the potency of the later event is to pre-expose, or innoculate, persons to it before it happens. If the powerful experiences of being overseas, which can threaten a person's adaptation there, can be dimensionalized ahead of time, the volunteer can be "innoculated" against them in training. Brislin and Van Buren (1974) have used this approach in their workshops to help students from diverse cultural backgrounds at a cross-cultural learning institution to anticipate and work through the problems they will face upon returning home after a two-year stay in Hawaii (see also the article by H. Marsh, this volume).

One of the benefits of the present study is the discovery of those experiences which might deserve the innoculation tactic in a volunteer's training. If innoculation is used in training, it can be an affective device for preparing volunteers to face experiences later on, but it may mean that trainees will be innoculated to some experiences later on, but it may mean that trainees will be innoculated to some experiences that they will not encounter. The Black female in the present study, for instance, complained that she had been led to believe (innoculated) that there would be more prejudice in her situation than she found. This sort of complaint probably must be accepted, because it is difficult to tell exactly what any specific person will eventually face. As a general strategy, however, it seems most fruitful to choose the likely experiences of a class of volunteers from descriptions such as this study and to at least innoculate for them. One of the costs will be a slight overtraining for certain experiences overseas, which seems better than not exposing persons to likely future events at all.

A type of experience for which many trainers are hesitant to train are those which involve failure. The authors are not entirely settled on this point either, but it may be beneficial for volunteers to be innoculated to the failure they will most likely experience. The respondents of the present study said they had not expected to fail as much as they had, and the experience seems to have been related to some of their rather severe depressions. The working through of possible problems, such as was done in the exercises used by Brislin and Van Buren (1974), could have been of value to them.

One strong finding of the study was that the first period overseas was the most difficult. It would probably be a good idea for the support staffs to be most active in helping the new volunteer then. This suggestion was made by Thomson and English (1964), who described two periods of psychological stress for new volunteers; one occurring the first few weeks after arrival in the host country and one occurring after three to five months on the overseas assignment. Before the volunteer arrives, however, the staff should determine that there is a job to be done and should have worked through the psychological contract (Schein, 1970) with the volunteer's host country supervisors. This means that the need for the volunteer, his desired characteristics, expectations of what he should do, and standards for his performance must all be negotiated with host country persons before the volunteer is assigned. The volunteer must continue the process later on, but he should clearly understand what is expected of him first. Schein mentions that the psychological contract between employer and employee is often left at the level of tacit understanding, and that expectations held by each of the parties are at odds, but unknown until after the employee has worked for a while. Establishing the contract early will ensure that the volunteer knows how he is to behave in his new situation as well as defining the volunteer to the host country authorities.

New volunteers also need special help in setting up home sites, choosing roommates, learning about bureaucratic procedures at work, and learning about settings in which to meet Afghans. It would be very helpful if both staff and volunteers were skilled in group discussion and conflict resolution techniques. Some of the problems experienced by volunteers in adjusting to their new situations and some of the more general problems between volunteers and staff, could then be worked out more easily and group cohesion developed. Arnold (1967) has described a field mental health program for Peace Corps Volunteers in Bolivia which demonstrated that group support can be useful in helping volunteers adjust to their new culture and get through the crises resulting from culture shock. The role of group support in fostering the mental health of volunteers seemed most important during the first six months of their overseas assignments. Staff enthusiasm and support for the Bolivia program was strong. Important points about the program were the staff's ability to intervene effectively in times of crises in the lives of the volunteers and the development of a peer group support system.

In addition to helping the volunteers adjust to their new situations, the staff could use group leadership skills to periodically conduct group meetings for particular skill and geographic volunteer groups. These meetings would help resolve continuing problems, make sure feelings are aired, ensure that goals are set, and refine methods of doing Peace Corps work. Thomson and English (1964) reported that the volunteers they interviewed preferred regional meetings with the Peace Corps staff after doing actual fieldwork, rather than extensive incountry training at the beginning of their assignments. New volunteers seemed anxious and impatient to get to their work sites once they arrived in a country, and Thomson and English conclude that regional conferences during the first three to five months of service could do much to develop a helpful relationship between volunteers and staff. The data of the present study suggest that as the volunteers seem ready to act independently, the staff should back off and just conduct periodic work and home visits, plus the discussion groups mentioned above. The staff should be a source of reward for the volunteers, rather than being mainly a judge of them.

In conclusion, the results of the study are many and varied, and there are apparent contradictions in them. The contradictions are not errors in the data, but they reflect the complexity of describing the overseas experience and the different frames of reference the volunteers used in answering the questions. The seemingly negative tone of many of the responses is a true reflection of the feelings many of the volunteers held because their emotions were colored by the frustrations they had experienced relative to what they had expected of their investment in volunteer service. The respondents were not bitter persons. Their answers were an honest effort to portray their experiences for the benefit of persons to follow them. Almost all of the volunteers of the sample completed their two-year obligation and have a deep love for Afghanistan. The overseas experience does contain both positive and negative elements, and we have attempted to portray accurately what we were told.

FOOTNOTES

[1] This study was done with the cooperation of the Peace Corps/Afghanistan staff, and while Jacob Hautaluoma was employed by the Center for Research and Education, Denver, Colorado, on a Peace Corps training project. The authors are appreciative of the above groups' aid and are especially grateful to the volunteers who shared their experience with us.

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ROOTS OF BILINGUAL/BICULTURAL EDUCATION IN THE TRUST TERRITORY OF THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

GREGORY J. TRIFONOVITCH
SENIOR PROGRAM OFFICER
CULTURE LEARNING INSTITUTE
EAST-WEST CENTER

In the last four of five years a great interest has developed in the area of bilingual and bicultural education. The U.S. federal government appropriated large sums of money to fund pilot and experimental projects in this field. The Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands has recently become the recipient of some of these funds and now has several experimental projects in Bilingual/Bicultural education. The purpose of this study is to trace the development of the interest in this specific area of education in the Trust Territory. Another purpose is to make key points available heretofore unpublished in Trust Territory memoranda. Hence I will cite liberally from those documents.

The Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands is an area composed of over 2,100 islands of which about 100 are inhabited. The Territory is divided into six districts: Mariana, Yap, Palau, Truk, Ponape and the Marshall Islands. It is located north of the equator in the Pacific Ocean between Hawaii to the east and Japan and the Philippines to the west. These islands, which are also known as Micronesia, have been dominated by several major powers, beginning with Spain in the sixteenth century, followed by Germany, Japan and now the United States of America. The United States began to administer this area immediately after the occupation in 1945 when the United Nations placed these islands under the United States trusteeship. (See F. Hezel's article, this volume)

The educational policies established by the United States for Micronesia were in concert with the United Nations Charter. Section 4 of Article 6 of the Trusteeship Agreement stated that the United States would

> "Promote the educational advancement of the inhabitants, and to this end shall take steps toward the establishment of a general system of elementary education; facilitate the vocational and cultural advancement of the population; and shall encourage qualified students to pursue higher education, including training on the professional level." (Meller 1969: 16)

The U.S. Navy Department was the first agency to administer the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (1945-1951). Their education policies, appear to have had a bilingual and bicultural basis.

Schools shall foster and encourage:

a) The native language, history, arts, and crafts.

b) Instruction in English language to inhabitants of all ages.

Elementary Schools shall provide instruction in:

a) English

b) Native language, history, arts, and crafts." (Trifonovitch 1971: 1067)

This policy was indeed a very radical one as contrasted with that of the previous governing powers. The Micronesians had had to learn German to communicate with their first rulers. German, as well as English, was taught by the German administrators to a select group of Micronesian students who attended the German communications school on Yap. Later they found it expedient to learn Japanese, and public free education was non-existent. Education was primarily for Japanese children. The schools were staffed by Japanese teachers who did not speak the local language and made no attempt to do so. Micronesians who were admitted into the Japanese schools had to learn the Japanese language and culture. The educational policies of both the Germans and the Japanese were monolingual and monocultural in nature. The Japanese felt that the local Micronesian languages would soon die out anyway. (Trifonovitch 1971: 1065)

During the American military administration in 1945 to 1951, Isidore Dyen, Arthur Capell, Samuel Elbert and Paulino Cantero suggested orthographies for Yapese, Palauan, Trukese, Marshallese and Ponapean. In 1951 Alfred G. Smith recommended an orthography for Kusaiean and Woleaian, and wrote guides for Marshallese and Trukese spelling. In 1952 Paul Garvin revised the orthography for Ponapean. These linguists were extremely interested in the preservation of the local languages. An example of this interest occurred in 1951 when Saipan and other islands of the Marianas ceased to use Chamorro as the medium of instruction in the schools and replaced it with English. Smith referred to the situation in a memorandum emphasizing that this was in violation of many of the official regulations found in the Charter of the United Nations regarding this territory. To meet these criticisms, he recommended that a training program be conducted on Saipan to train teachers how to teach Chamorro. (Trifonovitch 1971: 1082)

In 1951, after four years of administration by the U.S. Navy, the Trust Territory was turned over to civilian administration under the Department of the Interior. The first civilian Director of Education immediately realized that the education policies as they existed at that time had to be revised if they were to be implemented with any degree of success. The lack of sufficient funds for education hampered the implementation of any policy. Funds were not available to recruit English speaking teachers, and local teachers were not able to teach English. Educational materials and curricula in the local languages were practically non-existent. Lack of funds and the lack of a standardized orthography in the local languages curtailed the development of such materials. In addition, the director of education felt that the teaching of English in the primary grades was pedagogically inadvisable. The director "appointed a committee to study and to help formulate a policy with regard to the relative stress that should be placed on the teaching of the vernacular and English in the schools of the Trust Territory." (Trifonovitch 1971: 1068)

After a complete study the committee made the following recommendations:

> "Two languages shall be used in the schools of the Trust Territory--the vernacular or island language and English. When the child first comes to the elementary school, the program should be taught entirely in the island language.... Later on in the elementary school, as soon as the pupils are ready for it, English can become a subject for study and at the same time the teacher can use it when he talks to his classes." (Gibson 1961a: 1-2)

The language policies of the Trust Territory were revised at the recommendations of the committee. They became more definitive and detailed, but the original intent of a bilingual, bicultural education remained unchanged.

"Education shall foster and participate in the self-development of all individuals and groups in the Trust Territory. It shall help these individuals and groups to enable themselves to solve their own problems effectively. It shall therefore help them to understand themselves and their own languages, history, traditions, industries, arts, and crafts. It shall further help them to solve new problems by providing new instruments as needed. If a problem arises for them in communicating with the world at large or with other parts of the Trust Territory, the instrument for solving such a problem may be English.

Elementary schools shall provide integrated educational programs which shall be designed:

a) to promote the welfare of the community in all the ways and things appropriate to that community;

b) to help the pupils do better what they are already doing: to think more clearly; to communicate more effectively; to maintain their health; to contribute to the welfare.of their community;

c) to help pupils do such new things as are meaningful to them: to read and to write; to learn new facts about health and to acquire new health habits; to use arithmetical concepts; to become proficient in arts, crafts, agriculture, and industries; to understand local and world history, geography, and other social matters; to develop habits of scientific inquiry.

Island Languages

Education should start where the pupils start. In a language program the pupils start with their mother tongue. In general, therefore, the medium of instruction in the elementary schools shall be the mother tongue of the pupils, even where that mother tongue is not an official dialect or the official language of the island. Because a person is effectively aided in learning to read and write in a foreign language by ability to read and write his own language, literacy in the mother tongue shall be one prerequisite to instruction aimed at English Literacy. Teaching aids, texts, and other literature in all island languages shall be prepared, preferably as a part of the local school curriculum by teachers and pupils with expert guidance and advice.

English

English is a foreign language in the Trust Territory. It shall, however, be fostered as a second language for the peoples of the Trust Territory wherever the following conditions are fulfilled:

a) a problem in communication is recognized by the people;

b) a command of English is found to be a solution to that problem;

c) literacy in the mother tongue is attained;

d) certified teachers of English are available.

The necessity of deciding when these conditions are fulfilled will be the joint responsibility of the High Commissioner and District Administration.

English shall then be taught as a foreign language. The content and the vocabulary of English studies shall be adjusted to local conditions to make them more meaningful to the pupils. English teaching aids, texts and other literature for teacher's use shall be prepared for each local area as necessary, preferably as a part of the local school curriculum by teachers and pupils and

> with expert guidance and advice. Oral competency in English shall be a prerequisite to the development of literacy in English during the first years of English studies." (Gibson 1961a: 2-3)

The same financial limitation which inhibited the implementation of the bilingual education policies during the Naval administration continued during the civil administration in spite of the efforts of the education department to modify its policies. The budget permitted the hiring of only a handful of Americans to serve as advisors and to assist the Micronesians in the development of their own curriculum. Unfortunately, most of the American advisors (and later teachers) were not bilingual or bicultural themselves. They understood and appreciated the educational needs of the Micronesians and endeavored to implement the educational policies. However, they were severely handicapped in their efforts since their own thoughts and patterns of behavior had been so completely influenced by a monolingual, monocultural educational system which propelled them in the same direction. I discussed this problem when reviewing cross-cultural orientation programs for these teachers. (Trifonovitch, 1973)

With the lack of qualified teachers to teach English and other subjects in English the local languages were emphasized in the lower elementary schools, and English was delayed until high school where qualified teachers were available. This issue was further complicated by a misunderstanding on the part of the Micronesian community as to the reason for the delay in the teaching of the English language. They interpreted the policy as a deliberate attempt by the administration to curtail the educational development of the islanders. For example:

> "One educator reported an encounter with a village chief in which the chief blamed the American administration for not emphasizing English in the early grades of the elementary schools as a deliberate action TO KEEP MICRONESIANS IN THE BOONDOCKS" (Trifonovitch 1971: 1070)

It is my opinion that this was a general reaction on the part of Micronesians growing out of their earlier educational experience. During the Japanese regime it was clearly evident that there was a deliberate attempt by the administration to establish a selective educational policy and only a very few Micronesians were allowed to attend the Japanese schools. So it was natural for Micronesians to interpret the American delay in teaching English as a policy typical of foreign administrators intended to exclude Micronesians from the benefits of a modern education. An illustration of the pressure exerted by the Micronesian community for English to be used in the schools early is captured by Bender (whose main experiences were in the Marshall Islands). He wrote:

> "The Marshallese people want and demand that the teaching of English be maintained in the Public Elementary Schools. This was their response to the suggestion that it be delayed till the pupils enter the Intermediate School.
>
> Why are the Micronesians so desirous of learning English? This question has often been dismissed with this simple answer: 'Prestige value.' Not that this may not be true, but a simple answer is usually not adequate to convey the whole picture. I would like to give a few samples of what the Marshallese usually say when they discussed this problem among themselves:
>
> > 'Look at all those who are in important positions, all of them speak English. The better one speaks, reads and writes English, the better the job he has. More money too.'
> >
> > 'Why should we rely solely on the translation of a handful of interpreters. These men are like a small pipe controlling the flow of information between the Americans and the Marshallese.'

> 'Ridiculous, wanting to learn to speak English does not mean that we don't have pride in our own culture.'
>
> 'We believe all you have said. The problem is, as I see it, not whether or not English should be taught at all, but where and when? I prefer the teaching of it in the elementary school level because that is all the schooling the great majority of Marshallese will ever have and all Marshallese want to have some understanding of what they hear or read in English.'
>
> 'I am so envious when I see you fellows talking to an American, listening to a radio, reading a 'nujpepa' (newspaper or magazine), or a book that I wish I could understand what is going on. Don't ask me why I want to know, I don't know the reasons myself. If I am too old to learn, the children are not. If more funds are not available then stretch the dollars we have. Am I asking for a miracle? Yes, I am. Americans are a people who are constantly making miracles.'" (Bender 1959: 1-2)

The educational administrators in the Trust Territory were placed in a very unenviable position. On the one hand budgetary limitations hampered them from fully implementing a bilingual education program and on the other hand community pressure continued to increase demanding more English in the schools even at the expense of their own native language and culture.

Attempting to answer the problem, the Director of Education, after attending a Regional Educational Seminar held by the South Pacific Commission in 1959, wrote the following summary of two different viewpoints on language policy presented at the meetings:

> "The French viewpoint was: The indigenous populations demand that they be given our type of education. They will not accept any watered-down substitutes. If we are to comply with this demand, then we have no time to waste with local languages which will in any case play no further part in the child's education in two, three, or four years, as the case may be. It is our experience, and we have been at this job for many years, that pupils taught in the metropolitan language at the outset are perfectly able, other things being equal, to compete with pupils in our own metropolitan schools at every level. Furthermore, they said, in many territories there are great numbers of indigenous languages, each one spoken by a few thousand people. It is surely unrealistic to attempt to convert these languages into teaching languages.
>
> [The other, contrasting argument]:
>
> "Dr. F. H. Walter, Program Specialist for the teaching of foreign languages, UNESCO, was a proponent of the development and the use in teaching of the existing vernacular language. One argument was a moral one. Native language, he said, the language that a child learns at his mother's knee is man's most cherished possession. It is at once the essence and the vehicle of his culture. He has a right to maintain it and administering powers have a duty not only to help him to maintain it but to help him to develop it in any educational process that is introduced.
>
> The second argument was pedagogical. The child, he said, comes to one of your schools at, say, six years of age and is at once subjected to what is really quite intolerable intellectual burden. You not only confront him with a totally new language, the metropolitan language, which you compel him to start learning at once, but, in addition you make him begin the study of all these new, difficult arts, such as reading and writing and arithmetic, which are in themselves difficult enough for any child, and you make him try to master these arts in the, to him, totally unfamiliar medium of the metropolitan language. You would get far better pedagogical results if you let

> pupils learn to read and to acquaint themselves with numbers in their own tongue. Later, with proper planning, they will have ample time to master the metropolitan language which should in any case be introduced to them gradually." (Gibson 1961a: 3:5)

The Trust Territory had reflected the latter viewpoint in the policy it was attempting to implement with the assistance of the skeletal staff who had been advocating this philosophy for almost ten years prior to the 1959 South Pacific Conference. This emphasis continued on the local language and culture with the gradual introduction of English into the curriculum.

Nevertheless, the relentless community pressure was eventually bolstered by American educators who with monolingual, monocultural backgrounds opted for the easiest solution--to teach English and in English rather than attempting to learn the local language and assist in preparing local curricula.

In an attempt to meet the demands of the Micronesians to start English in the early elementary grades and to also answer the questions of the American educators, one of the three linguists on the staff wrote the following in 1961:

> "The whole letter (letter sent to the Director of Education by the local people) implies an attitude which I have heard expressed in one form or another many times in the Trust Territory. In its simplest form it runs something like this: 'Our English program is not doing the job it should because the Director of Education is deliberately holding us back. Our hands are tied by his unreasonable and perverse refusal to let us teach English in the first grade.' This tendency to view an early start in English as the panacea for all the troubles of the Trust Territory just doesn't fit the facts. If there were even the remotest chance that beginning the teaching of English in the first grade could accomplish all the wonders that are claimed for it, I'd be first to recommend a change in our present policy. But deferring English instruction for a few years as we do...is NOT what is presently wrong with our English program." (Quackenbush 1961: 6)

Finally, the ever increasing local pressure to begin the teaching of English became the concern of the High Commissioner. The Director of Education in his attempts to answer the queries made by the High Commissioner requested the assistance of a prominant linguist, Charles F. Hockett, who agreed with the language policies of the Department of Education and offered the following points for consideration by the High Commissioner in defense of the existing policies. (Hockett's comments are of central importance to this article. He reinforces the language policies, defines the problem, and recommends future developments.)

> "There are, however, several related points that need discussion:
>
> 1. If English is to be begun in the first grade (when teachers are available), how is the teaching of English as a second language to be worked in alongside of the development of literacy in the first language? I should say that in the first grade the bulk of the time each day should be spent on the 'three r's' in the native language, with special periods each day--not more than two-fifths of the whole school day--devoted to conversational English at the appropriate level. In the second year, the ratio might be reversed; by the fourth year, instruction might be wholly in English. The second or third year would be the time to start teaching the children to read and write in English--in any case, not too soon. It must be granted that time spent on activities in native language is school time lost from learning English--and vice versa. The only true test is the ultimate results. In a bicultural (and bilinguistic) situation, it is all too easy to produce, 'marginal men,' who have no true sense of participation in either culture; the aim, of course, should be to produce people who have a sense of participation in BOTH cultures. It is hard to see how neglect of and contempt for native language can contribute to this goal. Therefore one must simply assume that a somewhat slowed learning of English is more than compensated for by native language literacy.

2. For literacy in native language, what orthography is to be used? The speakers of the language ought to decide this whenever possible--on the basis of suggestions from linguists who know the problems of orthography-formation. In some of the districts there are two, or perhaps more, competing orthographies: one in use by one missionary group, another by another, perhaps a third tentatively being used by the government schools. Not surprisingly, speakers of the language who have been trained to read and write in one orthography are inclined to prefer it to any of the others.

From conversations with Quackenbush (one of the three linguists referred to earlier) I gather that the most serious problems of orthography selection arise where two different mission groups each support their own. In any such case, I recommend the following. Let Governmental authority issue an ultimatum. Say to the mission groups: get together with each other and with native speakers of the language, and choose a single orthography, by such-and-such a deadline, that you will all use from then on. If you can do so, the Government and the Government schools will thereafter use the orthography you have selected. If you cannot, the Department of Education will make a decision, and will require all of you to abide by that decision if you wish to continue your work in the District.

3. If we teach a Micronesian group to read and write its own language, what are they going to read? The long-term answer to this problem is not terribly important: if native literacy proves to be a viable ingredient of native culture, the group will do their own writing. But for an initial period of a good many years, this question ought to be answered with some central guidance. There should be a plan in each language area for selecting materials that ought to be written, printed, and distributed. There should be a central Literature Production Bureau to take care of the detailed work--or possibly, in time, not a central Bureau but a smaller one in each District. A weekly newspaper of some sort, perhaps partly in the District language and partly in English, would in due time be a good idea.

4. How about native literacy in highly divergent dialects or sharply distinct languages within a District? The clearcut case that comes to mind--in the absence of detailed information about the distribution of languages and dialects in the whole Territory--is Kapingamarangi. The language of Kapingamarangi and of one other atoll in the Ponape district is a Polynesian language--and an EASTERN Polynesian language at that!--have only the remotest genetic relationship to the language of Ponape. If Kapingamarangi children are brought up to Ponape and are put into schools in which 'native language' instruction is in the dialect of Ponape, the basic principle of literacy in native language is being violated. They are being taught a second language of highly limited use instead of a second language--English--of very broad value.

This is probably the sort of situation the French participants at the Brisbane conference had in mind. And yet there is no reason to change basic policies. A language spoken by a community of a hundred or so people is just as complex and viable a phenomenon as one spoken by a thousand people or a million. The child works just as hard learning it; it conditions his patterns of thinking and acting just as thoroughly. The benefits of native language literacy are as valid for a tiny speech community as for an enormous one. The basis of planning is unaltered. If economic factors preclude extending a policy to such small speech communities, then one finds the next best policy--say, perhaps, instruction completely in English from the beginning of school. But one abandons the basic policy with regret.

5. To what extent should Stateside personnel in the Territory learn to communicate in the languages of the Territory? People whose duties take them

> from one part of the Territory to another have little opportunity to learn any of the Territorial languages. Of those who stay at a District Post for a year or so, we can be sure that very few will have any desire to learn more than a handful of everyday phrases. But it is eminently desirable that more Stateside personnel learn more of the language of their particular district.
>
> One can argue against this on the grounds that if English-speaking personnel learn Trukese or Yapese or the like, the Trukese or Yapese will have less occasion to practice their English and perhaps less motivation for learning their English. This is largely a rationalization, stemming from the fact that Americans are lazy and embarrassed about learning other languages. Actually, there is nothing as encouraging in cross-cultural and cross-language relations as a good healthy quid-pro-quo. If every American on Truk spoke fluent Trukese, things would be better, not worse--communication would be carried on in English much of the time anyway; the Trukese would feel that the Americans were taking on a more reasonable share of the total communicative burden; the Trukese would learn English better. Indeed, the more a teacher of a language is familiar with the native language of his students, the more effectively he can teach. And every American in the Trust Territory is, for better or worse, a teacher.
>
> I know of no culture anywhere in which the participants do not deeply appreciate the efforts of outsiders to learn some of their language. It seems to be almost a universal token of cross-cultural respect. I suppose we should not display the token unless we feel the respect; but if we do not feel the respect we should not be here." (Hockett 1961: 1-5)

The High Commissioner accepted Hockett's recommendations and the already existing language policies were reaffirmed. But the Micronesian desire for more English instruction continued, and with a greatly increased budget in the early sixties, the administration began to respond with a program of building elementary classrooms and houses for American teachers who would be recruited to teach English. The staff member who headed this program toured the districts in 1963 and brought back the following report:

> "Considerable feeling expressed on Yap that the local language should be learned by the Americans. The other districts made no point of this. There was almost complete unanimity of feeling that English should be the language of instruction. In no district was any local feeling expressed indicating a desire for instruction in the indigenous language. There appeared to be no local concern that instruction in English would either kill the local language or force undue cultural changes on the people. The feeling was quite strongly expressed by both Micronesians and Americans that English was what was wanted. It appeared that, if English was not pushed to the maximum, the Micronesians would be upset and would protest. The Micronesians seemed to feel that the children would learn the local language at home, and that the schools should concentrate on English. It was recognized that this approach was not feasible in the past, but that now, with the American teachers coming to the islands, every emphasis could be given to instruction in English." (Trace 1963: 5)

The sentiments reported here now found a responsive official in the Office of Territories in Washington D.C., one who could bring considerable pressure on the High Commissioner. He was a native Guamanian who favored an "English only" policy. (He later became the Deputy High Commissioner of the Trust Territory.) Primarily at his instigation the High Commissioner launched the Accelerated School Construction Program referred to above, to provide classrooms and living facilities for American teachers who would make English the medium of instruction beginning with first graders.

To implement the new program over 100 American teachers were hired immediately. Scores more followed shortly. But after four years and hundreds of thousands of dollars the administration took a hard look at the idealistic objectives of the Accelerated Program and drew some conclusions that forced them to modify the new policies. The new program became a modified one. As of 1967 the basic objective of the language program is that "English shall become the general language for communication and instruction in the Trust Territory" (Administrative Directive No. 67-4).... The local language again was reintroduced into the basic school curriculum. The order stated that the basic principles in language teaching would be:

"1. Elementary school children, starting in grade one, shall be taught to read in their local language.

2. English shall be taught as a second language. The Teaching-English-as-a-Second Language (TESL) Program includes two major areas:

   a. Oral English, and

   b. Literacy in English

3. English shall become the medium of instruction in the schools as soon as the students indicate sufficient evidence of their ability to comprehend other subjects in English." (Mangan 1967)

The administrative order also stated that this "TESL Program as outlined shall be continued for a minimum period of five years (1967-68 through 1971-72)."

It is my opinion that the educational administration of the Trust Territory made a sincere effort to preserve the local language and culture as well as to offer a second language and culture--a bilingual, bicultural education program.

In 1968 with the arrival of the Peace Corps in the Trust Territory, the Micronesians for the first time in their history welcomed to their shores a group of foreigners who spoke their local languages and who knew of their culture and were willing to live with them in their villages and at their own level and style of life. Not only did these new young American volunteers arrive with some knowledge of the local language and culture but they were also trained in the techniques of teaching English as a second language.

This living example of an interest in bilingual and bicultural education as was demonstrated by the Peace Corp volunteers strengthened the existing basic language policy of the Trust Territory and added dignity and respect to the local languages and cultures of the Micronesian islands.

> "The Peace Corps has also affected the attitude towards the local languages of this area, since the volunteers are required to learn the local language. Linguists of the University of Hawaii have since conducted a preliminary linguistic analysis ar developed lesson materials in Chamorro, Palauan, Yapese, two Carolinian dialects, Trukese, Ponapean, Kusaiean, and Marshallese.
>
> Chamorro is the language of the inhabitants of the Mariana Islands. Most of the Chamorroes are bilingual, speaking either English or Japanese in addition to their mother tongue. Many who are over forty speak three languages. Almost all the Carolinians who migrated to Saipan from the central Caroline Islands about eighty years ago are bilingual, speaking both Chamorro and Carolinian. According to Government statistics, about 90% of the population of the Marianas below the age of twenty-five are now conversant in English, and many of these are now literate also.
>
> Yapese is spoken on Yap proper, and several Carolinian languages or dialects are spoken on the outer islands of the district, such as Ulithi, Woleai, Satawal, Ifaluk, Elato and Lamotrek. Many Yapese also speak Ulithian and English. Some speak Japanese and a few German and Palauan.

Palauan is spoken in the Palau District, with the exception of approximately 170 people who live in the southwest islands (Sonsorol, Tobi and Pulo Ana) and who speak two dialects of Carolinian.

Trukese is spoken in the Truk District. Many of the islands have their own local dialects which are not completely mutually intelligible with the other dialects.

Ponapean, Kusaiean, Kapingamarangian and Nukuoroan are the languages spoken in the Ponape District. The dialects spoken on Mokil and Pingelap strain what Dyen has called the language limit in their relation to Ponapean.

Marshallese has two mutually intelligible dialects--the eastern spoken in the Ratak chain and the western spoken in the Ralik chain of the Marshall Islands.

Most young people under the age of twenty-five, at least in the district centers, are now conversant in English also." (Trifonovitch 1971: 1081)

In 1969 the Trust Territory Education Department in cooperation with the East-West Culture Learning Institute and the University of Hawaii, Department of Linguistics and the Pacific Asian Linguistics Institute developed a four-year Pacific Language Development Project. The basic objective of the project was to assist Pacific islanders in the development of standard orthographies, dictionaries and basic grammars of their languages. Participants in this project came from all the districts of the Trust Territory and also from the Republic of Nauru, Fiji and the Gilbert and Ellice Eslands. Various faculty members and advanced students of the University of Hawaii Department of Linguistics are continuing to assist the islanders in the above-mentioned objectives, as well as in the developing of materials and literature in some of the languages, using the newly developed orthographies. The Social Sciences and Linguistics Institute is currently conducting a program in bilingual education for thirty Micronesian educators. And the East-West Culture Learning Institute is continuing its program in bilingual and bicultural materials development and has other programs with components of bilingualism and biculturalism, including its "Cultural Aspects of Educational Leadership" project which is conducted annually. Micronesians are well represented in these programs.

The Pacific islanders who have been trained in the above projects are continuing to teach others in their islands as well as developing materials in their languages. (As discussed by Halferty 1974.)

The sharply increased budgets of the Trust Territory administration in the sixties, and the substantial federal legislation in support of bilingual and bicultural education of the seventies which provides additional funds for Trust Territory education, have made it increasingly possible for the Trust Territory Education Department to begin implementing the goals and policies established from the beginning of American involvement in Micronesia at the close of WW II. The level of support now available is such as to make it possible to actually put the policies into practice, so that the results can be given a fair evaluation. It is unfortunate the goal of nurturing and fostering the local languages had to remain little more than a goal for almost two decades.

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AN OVERVIEW OF ALASKA NATIVE BILINGUAL EDUCATION

JAMES M. ORVIK
CENTER FOR NORTHERN EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH
UNIVERSITY OF ALASKA

My intention in this report is to give the reader an introduction to bilingual education (see Lester, 1974, for a general introduction) in Alaska. The reader's background is assumed to be the same as that of most non-Alaskans, comprising a predictable array of partial information about Alaska's size, its variability, and most important of all, its people, probably not unlike the checkered store of information I have about Australia, for example, or the Philippines. As an introduction, this report will treat three main topics. First, the general linguistic situation in Alaska is discussed, to provide a brief idea as to the number of languages spoken, and how many speakers there are of each. Second, the extent to which bilingual education is provided to native language speakers of school age is reviewed. And third, selected research on the effectiveness of Alaska's first two bilingual programs is presented, providing the reader with an idea as to the potential of bilingual education as a social force in Alaska.

Native Languages in Alaska

Linguists have identified twenty distinct languages spoken among native people of Alaska (Krauss, 1974). It would be presumptuous to present as my own an authoritative account of these languages. The classification has been done admirably well elsewhere (Krauss, 1973, 1974) so only a general summary will be attempted here. Table one shows Alaska native languages classified into their major linguistic families, with the approximate numbers of living speakers given for each. The geographical distribution of the major language groups places the Eskimo-Aleut group; Inupiaq, Central Yupik, and Sugestun, on the North, West and Southwest coastal areas, with Siberian Yupik and Aleut occupying St. Lawrence Island, and Aleutian chain respectively. The Athasbaskan-Eyak groups occupy the interior of Alaska extending into the Southcentral region and westward into Canada. Southeastern Alaska comprises the Tlingits, Haida and Tsimshian language groups, extending southeast from Cape Yakataga to the southeastern most tip of Alaska. A map[2] of Alaska Native peoples has been prepared and provides an accurate and comprehensive display of the geography of Alaska native languages.

As has been the fate of many language minorities throughout the world a number of Alaskan native languages have become disused, some to the point of extinction, during the years of contact with other cultures. Within Alaska, native languages exist in various stages of transition. The general pattern of language viability in each language family can be shown by classifying native communities according to the following types:

Type A. Monolingual Native: (fluent native-language speakers of all ages, including all or many children),

Type B. Bilingual: (few or no native language speakers under 10 years of age),

Type C. Monolingual English: (few or no native language speakers under 30 years of age).

Table 1
Alaska Native Languages and Populations[a]

Language Family	Language Name	Population	Number Speaking
Eskimo-Aleut:			
Aleut:	Aleut	2,000	700
Eskimo:	Sugpiaq	3,000	1,000
	Central Yupik	17,000	15,000
	Siberian Yupik	1,000	1,000
	Inupiaq	11,000	6,000
Tsimshian:	Tsimshian	1,000	150
Haida:	Haida	500	100
Tlingit:	Tlingit	9,000	2,000
Athabaskan-Eyak:			
Eyak:	Eyak	20	3
Athabaskan:	Ahtna	500	200
	Tanaina	900	250
	Ingalik	300	100
	Holikachuk	150	25
	Koyukon	2,100	700
	Upper Kuskokwin	150	100
	Tanana	360	250
	Tanacross	175	120
	Upper Tanana	300	250
	Han	65	20
	Kutchin	1,100	700

[a] Source: Map of Alaska Native Languages, Alaska Native Language Center, University of Alaska, Fairbanks, 99701.

Table two shows the number of communities of each type (A, B, or C) by language family. As can be seen from both tables the most viable languages are in the Eskimo-Aleut family, particularly the Central and Siberian Yupik Eskimo dialects. The languages of southwestern and interior Alaska are the least viable, many of which are extinct or at best moribund.

Table 2
Numbers of Alaskan Native
Communities by Language Group and Language Use

	Language Group					
Language Use[a]	Eskimo-Aleut	Athapascan-Eyak	Tsimshian	Haida	Tlingit	Total
Type A	31	5	0	0	0	36
Type B	40	7	0	0	0	47
Type C	54	39	1	2	13	109
Total	125	51	1	2	13	192

[a] A - All people speak the native language including children.
B - Some children speak the native language.
C - No children speak the native language.

A comprehensive account for why such patterns of viability have taken place is a complex sociolinguistic question. The necessary research has yet to be done, even if the proper questions were well enough formulated. The influences of dominant culture contact provides only part of the answer. Other factors, such as school policies toward native languages, or even indigenous cultural factors, also have played important roles. Furthermore, until recently, most Alaskan native languages had no written form, leaving them entirely to oral transmission for their survival. Today, however all twenty languages have a written form, constituting yet another factor in analyzing patterns of language survival. Whatever the case may be, substantial efforts to counteract the tendency toward native language loss are underway in Alaska, consistent with and perhaps reflective of the nationwide upsurge in interest in language and culture preservation. Bilingual education is the major focus of these efforts, and it is to this topic we now turn.

Bilingual Education in Alaska

Bilingual education is now a significant presence in Alaska's native educational program. Growing mainly from experimental Yupik Eskimo programs launched in 1970, in the Southwestern part of the state, increased consciousness now exists about the potential this innovative approach holds for education in Alaska. This increase in consciousness has grown from the thinking of small groups of education planners and developers within Alaska's educational agencies and now includes substantial numbers of citizens in local communities as well as leaders on the political and administrative fronts. The social and political ramifications of bilingual education are thus beginning to be sensed to their widespread implications for Alaska's future. Until recently, this bilingual education movement has progressed in a somewhat fragmentary fashion, gaining support and direction largely through the singular efforts of particular individuals within agencies, organizations and institutions. Actively interested in advancing the basic principals on which bilingual education rests, either as longstanding proponents or as recent converts, such individuals have been able to capitalize on a timely increase of Federal financial support. In 1970, these efforts came to life in two prototype bilingual educational programs developed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and shortly thereafter by the Alaska State-Operated School System, in concert with units of the University of Alaska. Since that time, the growth of bilingual education in Alaska has included expansion within its original programs to bring in new schools and higher grades. However, the growth has also seen increased bilingual programming in other important ways. Added to the efforts of traditional education agencies, ASOSS and BIA, new structures have been created to bring new sources of input to bear on the solution of bilingual education problems; namely, the Eskimo Language Workshop, the Alaska Native Language Center and the Alaska Native Education Board.

Jointly funded by Federal grants to the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Alaska State-Operated School System, the Eskimo Language Workshop was founded in 1970, to develop materials and train staff for the Yupik component of Alaska's first formal bilingual educational program. First located at the University of Alaska, Fairbanks, the workshop was moved in June, 1974, to the Kuskokwim Community College at Bethel to be in the heartland of the Yupik-speaking population. The Alaska Native Language Center (ANLC), of the University of Alaska, Fairbanks, is another new structure to have included service to bilingual education as part of its responsibility. Created in 1972 by the Seventh Alaska Legislature (AS 14.40.117), the ANLC was mandated to fulfill the following responsibilities:

1) "...to study languages native to Alaska;
2) develop literacy materials;
3) assist in the translation of important documents;
4) provide for the development and dissemination of native literature; and
5) train Alaska native language speakers to work as teachers and aides in bilingual classrooms."

While the function of ANLC includes, but is not limited to bilingual education, its type of scientific work in Alaskan native languages is a necessary step in developing any bilingual education program.

The Alaska Native Education Board (ANEB) grew out of concern for needed development of bilingual and bicultural curricula and materials in languages other than Yupik, the latter already having been well established. Located in Anchorage, the ANEB originally was funded in July, 1973, under Section B of the 1972 Indian Education Act. Since its incorporation in June, 1972, ANEB has received further funding under the Indian Education Act and the Johnson-O'Malley Act. Additionally, the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) has had a longstanding commitment to Alaska native languages dating back to 1958. Having done work in eight languages, SIL workers have made numerous contributions to ASOSS bilingual education and their expertise has been valuable in numerous statewide efforts, such as in the ESL component of the Alaska Rural School Project, University of Alaska, Fairbanks, 1966-1972.

These special structures provided much of the leadership and expertise for administrators in Alaska's educational agencies to draw upon in order to realize their bilingual education goals. In fact, it might well be said that without such leadership and expertise bilingual education would have become underdeveloped in its infancy. For example, without the linguistic expertise of the Eskimo Language Workshop, its Yupik orthography capable of carrying the development of the necessary body of curriculum materials could not have been applied. And without the leadership of the workshop, the implementation of the orthography, materials, and the Yupik literacy training could not have been maintained. Also, without a similarly active partnership between educational agencies and the Alaska Native Education Board, expansion of bilingual education programs into other widely used Native languages would not have been realized. Nor would the Alaska Native Language Center have been created to attend to maintaining and developing, through systematic application of linguistic expertise, all Alaska Native languages, especially those in current danger of extinction.

Development of bilingual programs has depended so far on the timely, but by no means guaranteed appearance of funding external to the basic educational support of each agency, creating a sense of vulnerability, psychological as well as fiscal, among all concerned. Each effort has developed individually with a separate source of funding, within a separate agency or structure, under separate sets of guidelines and mandates. While the net effort has resulted in unprecedented innovations in understanding and commitment to deliver

Table 3
Numbers of School-age Speakers of Native Languages in Alaska by School Agency and Bilingual Programming Status

	No. of School-Age Speakers	No. of School-Age Non-Speakers	Agency	Total	No. Speakers in Bil. Prog.	% Speakers in Bil. Prog.
Eskimo-Aleut						
Yupik	2,343	542	BIA	2,885	270	11.5
	1,096	929	ASOSS	2,025	283	25.8
Total Yupik	3,439	1,471		4,910	553	16.1
Inupiaq	862	1,011	BIA	1,873	180	20.9
	305	489	ASOSS	794	222	72.8
Total Inupiaq	1,167	1,500		2,667	402	34.4
St. Lawrence Island	218	0	BIA	218	89	40.2
Aleut	66	472	ASOSS	538	13	19.7
Total Eskimo-Aleut[a]	4,890	3,443		8,333	1,057	21.6
Tsimshian	0	300	[b]	300	0	
Haida	0	100	[b]	100	0	
Tlingit	0	2,800	[b]	2,800	0	
Athabaskan						
Ahtna	0	150	ASOSS	150	0	
Han	0	20	ASOSS	20	0	
Holikachuk	0	50	ASOSS	50	0	
Ingalik	0	75	ASOSS	75	0	
Koyukon	0	600	ASOSS[b]	600	0	
Kutchin	17	0	BIA	17	17	100.0
	86	129	ASOSS	215	57	66.3
Total Kutchin	103	129		232	74	71.8
Tanaina	15	250	ASSOS[b]	265	0	0.0
Tanana	0	100	ASOSS	100	0	
Tanacross	15	15	ASOSS	30	0	0.0
Upper Kuskokwim	25	0	ASOSS	25	25	100.00
Upper Tanana	15	10	BIA	25	15	100.00
	25	25	ASOSS	50	25	100.00
Total Upper Tanana	40	35		75	40	100.00
Total Athabaskan	32	10	BIA	42	32	100.00
	166	1,414	ASOSS	1,580	107	64.5
	198	1,424		1,622	139	70.2
Agency Totals	3,455	1,573	BIA	5,060	571	16.5
	1,633	6,504	ASOSS	8,137	625	38.3
Grand Total	5,088	8,077		13,165	1,196	23.5

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[a] Exclusive of Sugpiaq, which is served by the Kenai Peninsula Borough School Districts

[b] Served by various school districts as well as ASOSS

quality education to native children, this arrangement has thus far fostered an atmosphere of cautious cooperation, even occasional suspicion among participants, and unnecessarily fragmented leadership relative to what might emerge under a more coordinated effort. Recognizing this state of affairs, the agencies and institutions currently bearing the responsibility for bilingual education in Alaska have recently united in a series of inter-agency meetings to increase the effectiveness of their efforts in program components. Need for effective coordination of all bilingual education in Alaska is agreed to as essential at this point among all participants. To this end, the Alaska State Department of Education (DOE) has begun to take leadership within the state, and is now pulling together current sources of expertise and experience to produce an effective statewide effort in bilingual education.

Given this general resume of agency and institutional involvement in Alaskan bilingual education, an overview of the extent to which native children are being served by various efforts is in order. I present two sorts of data; one, the number of school-age speakers of native languages who are receiving bilingual education, either from the Alaska State-Operated School System (ASOSS) or from the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), and the other, the distribution of bilingual education programs among native communities as classified by degree of language viability. Each sort of data gives a separate view of bilingual education coverage within Alaska. Table three shows the number of school-age speakers of each native language receiving bilingual education in some form. The kind of bilingual education program a child participates in varies generally with the source of funding each program receives, and I have not attempted in this report to distinguish among them. Some programs conform to strictly defined bilingual education models, for example, the BIA and ASOSS Yupik-language programs funded under Title's I and VII, of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) respectively. Other programs, however, particularly those in Type C communities, necessarily stretch most formal definitions of bilingual education to include native languages as subject matter rather than as mediums of instruction.

Table four gives the reader some idea of the relative proportions of bilingual programming for the three types of communities (A, B, and C). As can be seen, the BIA has concentrated more efforts in the Type A, high language viability community, whereas the ASOSS has distributed its effort proportionally across all three types with the largest

Table 4
Numbers of ASOSS and BIA Alaskan Schools by
1974 language situation and bilingual program status

	Language situation[a]							
	A		B		C			
Agency	Total	No. with Bil. Program[b]	Total	No. with Bil. Program	Total	No. with Bil. Program	Total	No. with Bil. Program
ASOSS	15	10	17	7	66	35	98	52
BIA	25	10	15	1	12	0	52	11
Total	40	20	32	8	78	35	150	63

[a] Source: Krauss, Alaska Native Language Center Report, Alaska Native Language Center, University of Alaska, Fairbanks, 1973.

[b] Source: Personal communications with Kathy Perrin, ANEB; Frank Berry, JOM; Baxter Wood, ASOSS; and cross reference of various agency directories.

effort, in absolute numbers, in Type C communities. It must be pointed out that the figures in tables three and four are based on general estimates and not on an accurate linguistic census, the cost of which would be prohibitive even though the pay-off in valuable information would be great. Nevertheless, the overall proportions of children reached by bilingual education at this time are probably accurate enough to warrant the general conclusion that throughout the state, no more than one fourth of all school-age speakers of native languages are participants in some form of bilingual education program.[3]

Effectiveness of Bilingual Education

Evaluating the effectiveness of bilingual education is a difficult task requiring control over a host of elusive situational variables in order to arrive at even the most generally valid of conclusions. As evaluator of Yupik-language bilingual programs for the ASOSS and BIA during their first three years of implementation, I was able to establish enough of an objectively based research design to warrant some conclusions about their general effectiveness relative to estimates of what would have happened under the traditional, non-bilingual approach. Because of space limitations, only a general overview of the methods, and conclusions can be given here, but a general idea of the potential of this kind of program nevertheless can be obtained.[4]

The programs evaluated took place in three BIA, and one ASOSS, lower Kuskokwim River day schools in the first operational year (1970). In 1971, four BIA, and five ASOSS day schools were added for a total of thirteen schools. Each village school entered the program at the first grade level only, adding an additional grade level in each of the next two years until the entire primary grades were taught bilingually. Yupik Eskimo was the first language in virtually all of the homes of the program children. The general structure of the program was for all academic subject matter to be taught in Yupik, by Yupik first-language instructors, specially trained for the program. English was taught as a second language (ESL), by the regular certified teacher, for one hour per day in first grade, increasing it by an hour per day in each subsequent grade level. It was assumed that by fourth grade the subject matter could be handled in English with Yupik instruction carried on as a subject for purposes of continued cultural enrichment.

One of my roles, from the beginning of the program, and for its first three years, was that of external program evaluator. As such, my job was to provide for gathering objective performance data, on whatever dimensions I deemed suitable, in order to make judgments as to changes--particularly cognitive and linguistic changes, taking place in the children. Children in nearby village schools, considered culturally linguistically similar to those in the experimental bilingual program villages provided comparison data against which to assess changes. The comparison children became statistically our "best estimate" of what would have happened under a traditional, unilingual education program.

For the first year evaluation, it was decided to employ vocabulary acquisition as a general marker for whatever linguistic changes took place as a result of the new program. Special picture vocabulary tests were developed in Yupik and English through the cooperation of Yupik-speaking personnel and artists of the Eskimo Language Workshop at the University of Alaska. A team of first-language teachers were trained to administer the tests at the beginning and end of the school year. This procedure established two points of reference for assessing relative gains during the year. Briefly, the net results of the first year of program operations was for the bilingually taught children to have significantly outgained the comparison children, both in English as well as Yupik vocabulary. The greater gains shown by bilingually taught children in Yupik vocabulary was not so surprising as the greater gains in English vocabulary, since English teaching was reduced to only an hour per day in the bilingual program schools. This result was especially important in the light of concerns expressed by some Eskimo parents that they were afraid their children would get behind in English if taught primarily in Yupik.

Some methodological problems were encountered in implementing the evaluation design of the second year of the program causing the results to be inclusive, perhaps even equivocal.[5] Nevertheless, the same general trends, but with some exceptions were found in the second year of operations.

The evaluation design for the third year (1972-73), evolved from substantive as well as logistical findings of the first two years and incorporated a number of modifications. First, the number of performance skills measured was expanded to reflect the need for more specific information sought by program officials. Second, rather than attempt to test all of the children in seventeen target villages (ASOSS, BIA and comparison) a stratified random sample was selected to minimize the loss of classroom instruction time for testers as well as students. And third, the testing was limited to a single posttest period, since the degree of initial comparability of comparison and bilingual schools had been satisfactorily established in prior evaluation years. Because the third year results were based on a wider variety of performances, after considerably more program experience, they will be presented in considerably greater detail.

Instruments

The instruments used for the third year evaluation fell into two main categories: (1) academic - Yupik literacy skills, and numerical skills; and (2) linguistic - acquisition of grammar in Yupik and English and acquisition of meaning in Yupik and English.

The measurement of Yupik literacy skills was divided into three main categories: (1) prereading, (2) decoding, and (3) encoding. The measurement of prereading skills consisted of a composit of (a) recognition of initial letter sounds, (b) visual discrimination of symbols, and (c) reading phonemes.

The measurement of Yupik decoding skills consisted of a composite of (a) reading sight words, (b) decoding new words, (c) matching words with pictures, and (d) reading and following simple directions.

The measurement of encoding skills assessed three levels of written performance: (1) ability to write the alphabet (appropriate to Yupik or English), (2) ability to encode Yupik sounds and words, and (3) formal performance in which the pupil writes about himself.

Measurement of numerical skills consisted of two main components. The first focused on the ability of the children to count, and the second focused on the ability of the children to perform a variety of arithmetic calculations.

For the broad purpose of assessing relative linguistic skills, two subtests of the Illinois Test of Psycholinguistic Abilities (ITPA) (Kirk, S. A., McCarthy, J. J. and Kirk, W. D., 1968) were adapted, --The Grammatic Closure, and the Auditory Association subtests.

These two tests, as published, were designed to deal with verbal output at two different levels of language organization. By adapting the stimulus material to the familiar locale of the Eskimo child, and adapting by translation the verbal content of each test item, the relative effects of similar processes were measured in the presently discussed context. To be sure, the difficulty of achieving a perfect adaptation of both the visual stimulus material and the verbal item content is great and as many steps as possible were taken to assure appropriateness within this situation.

The test adaptations were made in conjunction with personnel of the Eskimo Language Workshop, whose task it was to modify test pictures to the local environment, translate item content into meaningful tests of grammatical structures, and provide back-translations for use in corresponding English language items. In most cases the English version was not a direct literal translation of the Yupik, but was readapted to make the syntax meaningful as a test item.

For both the Grammatic Closure and Auditory Association tests, the Yupik and English versions were administered separately.

Table five summarizes the preceding description for quick reference by the reader. Included in table five are combinations of subtest components used in the final statistical analysis. In a number of cases, subtests were combined where it would ease the burden on statistical calculations, provided there was reasonable homogeneity of content. In cases where subtests were not combined it was felt the subtests either were measuring different skills, or used measurement scales too varied to permit combination without undergoing time consuming statistical scale transformations. Such transformations have the added disadvantage of being very difficult to understand, and this would lead to problems for any reader of the final evaluation report. The resulting combinations of tests and subtests summarized in table five provide a total of eleven units for statistical analysis.

Testing Procedures

All tests were administered by experienced Yupik bilingual teachers recruited from the ASOSS and BIA bilingual programs. Testers were selected according to four major criteria: (1) personal interest in the testing program, (2) recommendation by principal teachers involved in the program, (3) availability for travel to a training workshop, and (4) assent by the majority of bilingual aides. Of the eight selected, three had prior experience as testers in earlier evaluation activities.

The testers received the main portion of their training at a three day workshop held in early March, 1973, at the Bureau of Indian Affairs site in Bethel. During the three days, general testing concepts such as measurement and random sampling were assimilated as well as specific administration procedures. In addition, the testers gave substantial input into the final structure of the tests, developed scoring criteria, and laid the groundwork for the math test to be used in the program. With few exceptions the testing program was carried out satisfactorily. The few exceptions were the result of unforeseeable local conditions requiring immediate decisions by the particular tester out of communication with the evaluator. In one case (see Table five, footnote) there was a significant loss of data, but even the ability to draw data-based conclusions was not seriously jeopardized. The results of the statistical analysis are presented in three main sections: (1) literacy skills, (2) numerical skills, and (3) linguistic skills. In each section the general results are described, followed by a brief discussion of the overall patterns of the results taken in total.

Literacy Skills

Table six shows the results of the statistical analysis of performance in literacy skills for each grade level. The reader is reminded that the values for the t statistic are the best index of comparative performance since they indicate whether a particular mean difference between a bilingual and comparison group should be taken seriously, i.e., as representing a significant program difference. Negative t values indicate a higher comparison group mean.

Beginning with prereading skills the performance of the bilingual program children was substantially superior. This superiority was most marked in grades one and two. By level three, both bilingual and comparison groups were about equal but this may have been due largely to the test having a low ceiling, leaving no more room for improvement. The important result is that first grade performance was high, giving evidence of a good beginning in Yupik literacy, comparable to what might be expected by the third year in the traditional program where the children must rely on their ability to generalize from what

Table 5
Summary of Evaluation Tests by Grade Level

ABILITY TESTED INSTRUMENT INSTRUMENTS	NUMBER OF SUBJECTS BY GRADE LEVEL								
	LEVEL ONE			LEVEL TWO			LEVEL THREE		
	BIA	ASOSS	COMP	BIA	ASOSS	COMP	BIA	ASOSS[b]	COMP
Literacy Skills:									
prereading									
initial letter sounds									
*visual discrimination of symbols									
*reading phonemes	31	30	19	31	30	19	15		15
Decoding:									
reading sight words with pictures									
*decoding new words									
*matching words with pictures									
*reading and following directions	31	30	19	31	30	19	15		15
Encoding:									
alphabet	31	30	19	31	30	19	15		15
sounds and words	31	30	19	31	30	19	15		15
free essay	31	30	19	31	30	19	15		15
Number Skills:									
Counting:									
oral counting									
*naming numbers									
*counting objects	31	30	19	31	30	19	15		15
Arithmetic:									
arithmetic	31	30	19	31	30	19	15		15
Linguistic Skills:									
Grammar Closure:									
Yupik	31	30	19	31	30	19	15		15
English	18[a]	30	19	18	29	19	15		15
Auditory Association:									
Yupik	31	30	19	31	30	19	15		15
English	18	30	19	18	30	19	15		15

[a] For some unaccountable reason, one tester did not administer English versions of the Grammatic Closure and Auditory Association Tests, reducing the number of subjects from 31 to 18 both in grades one and two in BIA schools.

[b] Level three classrooms were not added to ASOSS bilingual program school until 1973-74.

Table 6
Literacy Skills in Yupik

		Prereading			Decoding			Encoding								
								Alphabet			Encoding Sounds			Open Essay		
		Bil.	Comp	t	Bil.	Comp	t	Bil.	Comp	t	Bil.	Comp	t	Bil.	Comp	t
BIA	Level One	15.20	9.70	3.20**	13.94	1.16	6.09**	65.39	70.94	- .57	31.65	1.26	4.44**	5.61	2.42	2.59*
ASOSS	Level One	15.71		4.29**	14.12		4.66**	63.13		- .86	44.50		3.89**	5.13		2.02*
BIA	Level Two	14.97	11.95	2.32*	17.45	1.53	6.03**	82.22	83.10	- .12	48.06	.26	5.33**	7.97	7.58	.28
ASOSS	Level Two	17.42		4.84**	20.25		7.46**	84.84		.28	52.87		7.11**	10.77		2.17*
BIA	Level Three	15.87	14.83	.99	18.73	4.07	4.25**	88.87	98.67	-3.45**	57.13	3.47	4.69**	8.00	14.10	-3.11*

* p <.05
** p <.01

they have learned in English literacy training. In Yupik decoding skills, the bilingual program children showed clear superiority at every grade level.

In encoding, a mixed picture of performance was chosen. While the ability of the bilingual program to establish the concept of the written alphabet was weak, (especially at level three) the ability of the children to encode Yupik sounds and words successfully was quite strong at every level. Relative skill at free written expression was strong among bilingual groups at levels one and two, but then appeared to fall clearly behind by level three. In fact, many of the level three children made no attempt to write anything at all.

The reader should bear in mind that the purpose of evaluation in this section was to assess the ability of the bilingual classroom to prepare Yupik speaking children to be literate in their first language. Using the traditional classroom as an estimate of what might have happened otherwise, makes relatively clear the general success in meeting this goal. The only exceptions are in areas in which children in comparison schools were not restricted by the tests from relying on English as a mode of written expression. In all other cases, virtually no generalization from English to Yupik was in evidence by children in the traditional program. It would, of course, be unfair to say that no literacy skills in English were being developed in the traditional schools since evidence in that domain was not gathered. There would be no way to support such a conclusion one side or the other.

It does seem certain that a concept of the alphabet is not necessary for other basic encoding operations, particularly in the accurate formation of sounds and words received aurally. The bilingual children do well without it and the traditionally taught children are at no apparent advantage possessing it. Perhaps teaching an alphabet is more for the reinforcement of the teacher than of the pupil and hence constitutes an unnecessary part of the curriculum. In fact, trying to establish an alphabet concept early may only lock the child into an ungeneralizable system which later the child is required to repudiate upon literacy training in a second language.

Numerical Skills

Table seven shows the test results for assessing comparative numerical skills. Two components were tested; a component comprising counting and number identification (naming) skills, and a component comprising common arithmetic calculations. In the former, counting, the comparison groups performed as well or significantly better than their bilingually taught counterparts at each of the three grade levels. However, in arithmetic calculations, the bilingual program children performed as well or better than the comparison school children.

Problems in establishing a Yupik math curriculum were present since the program's beginning. First of all, there existed no standard treatment of math throughout the bilingual program schools. For example, program schools varied in the time at which English names for numbers were introduced. Second, most Yupik counting systems are based on a metric other than the base ten, necessitating highly complex transformations into the English base ten system. For numbers below 20 or 30, there is generally no difficulty, but numbers greater than 30 begin to possess long and linguistically complex names mathematically different from their English equivalents.

Why then should arithmetic calculations pose no apparent problem to bilingually taught children given the difficulty they seem to have counting? One possible reason is that the arithmetic problems used in the present evaluation were, like most arithmetic operations, approachable by reduction to single integers. In fact, even into secondary school most math calculations are taught to be performed by reducing them to single digit operations. This may be why the children in the bilingual program can handle calculations reasonably well without apparent facility with large number concepts. However, it follows that when such concepts become necessary at some later time the children in the bilingual program may well have problems developing the necessary abstractions to go beyond simple arithmetic with any notable facility.

Table 7
Comparative Number Skills

	Math Component Scores					
	Counting			Arithmetic		
	Bil.	Comp.	t	Bil.	Comp.	t
BIA Level One	31.00	40.08	-3.16^{**}	2.50	2.10	.52
ASOSS Level One	38.70		$-.63$	6.50		3.78^{**}
BIA Level Two	37.10	50.50	-5.40^{**}	7.40	5.10	2.09^{*}
ASOSS Level Two	48.00		-1.06	10.73		3.75^{**}
BIA Level Three	34.50	56.30	-6.49^{**}	10.70	10.90	$-.10$

* $p < .05$
** $p < .01$

Linguistic Skills

Linguistic skills in each language were measured in two ways, one stressing the acquisition of grammar and syntax, and the other stressing the understanding of meaning in the context of analysis, ranging from simple to relatively complex. Referring to Table eight, in Yupik, the quality of performance in grammatical use was clearly greater at grades one and two for the bilingual program students, with the trend carried, though more weakly, into grade level three. In their ability to deal with meaning in Yupik, the bilingual program children showed significantly better performance at all three grade levels.

In English grammatic development there was generally strong performance by bilingual program children in the first two grades which tapered off in later primary, so by level three the bilingual students were still holding their own but not showing the distinct advantage they began with. The development of facility with meaning in the English language was essentially equal for both groups until level three where the comparison students showed clear superiority.

The most striking pattern to emerge from the data taken in aggregate is the marked tendency for the level three performance to show a sizeable drop. The same tendency was shown in the second year of the program when the present level three students were at level two. An early theory was advanced that the phenomenon may have been due to a lag in program development when each new level was added. This theory may still hold. In fact, the greater strength of performance of level two children the following year lends support to this line of speculation since it now appears as though the level two curriculum had taken shape well enough to meet at least the immediate instructional goals. At the same time the newly added level, level three, showed the same evidence of tapering off that level two did when it was first added to the bilingual program design.

But a supplemental theory also warrants consideration. The performance drop could also be due to a relatively low ability level of the particular children comprising level three, caused directly by their being the vanguard of the new movement, so when a new grade level is added to the program, they are "it." That is, these children may be showing a cummulative effect of being in the experimental forefront of the bilingual implementation period. This theory should not be discounted in explaining the data patterns seen in the third program year.

Table 8
Comparative Linguistic Scores

	Yupik						English					
	Grammatic Closure			Auditory Association			Grammatic Closure			Auditory Association		
	Bil.	Comp.	t	Bil.	Comp.	t	Bil.	Comp.	t	Bil.	Comp.	t
BIA Level One	18.65	11.79	4.23**	15.32	8.32	4.05**	4.72	2.68	2.65**	5.22	5.40	.08
ASOSS Level One	16.47		2.10*	13.57		2.16*	8.46		10.70**	9.79		2.71**
BIA Level Two	19.26	14.21	3.63**	18.19	13.16	2.89**	6.11	4.53	1.34	9.06	8.74	.20
ASOSS Level Two	20.79		2.53**	19.27		2.50**	11.36		4.30**	14.72		3.42**
BIA Level Three	20.73	18.60	1.06	21.60	18.20	1.95*	8.47	8.53	-.04	12.27	16.60	-2.35**

* p < .05
** p < .01

Of course, there are other theories to account for these data, not the least of which is the possibility of sampling error. A random sample cannot guarantee a representative cross-section of pupils selected for testing. It can only guarantee all pupils an equal chance of selection. With samples of a given size, the probability of selecting from the extreme low end of the distribution is greater than with larger samples. But, the probability is just as great for selecting from the top end, and with limited time and resources, these risks must be taken. While the sampling error theory is logically as sound as any other, it would be impractical to place great faith in it since it has no implications for program development. Of the two theories posed above, the one that demands consideration from a practical point of view is the first because it asks for program review by its developers and practitioners to help make sure the third level achieves a continuously sound functioning basis. A fourth theory, of course, is that the total concept of bilingual education is questionable and may not come through on its initial promise to provide a quality educational program for Yupik-speaking children. But such a theory is easily weakened by the remarkable performance of children in the early primary grades experiencing the bilingual classroom.

In summary, it seems apparent that the children in the Yupik bilingual program are gaining a sound basis in nearly all aspects of Yupik literacy, Yupik and English oral language proficiency, and academic performance. But, it would be unwise to generalize these relatively short-term results to all of the language situations and groups of Alaska. My purpose has been to offer the reader an introductory overview of bilingualism and bilingual education in Alaska. The variety of language patterns and educational needs constitutes one of Alaska's most basic facts. Our measure of such facts constitutes one of our most basic challenges.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Research funded in part by grants from the National Institute of Education, the U.S. Office of Education, the Ford Foundation, and the Alaska State Department of Education.

[2] The interested reader may write Dr. Michael Krauss at the Alaska Native Language Center, University of Alaska, Fairbanks, Alaska 99701, for further information regarding this map.

[3] Plans are underway for the BIA next year (1975-1976) to increase approximately three fold the number of Yupik-speaking communities with bilingual education.

[4] For a detailed account, the manuscript; Four Years of Bilingual Education: The Yupik Language Program in Southwestern Alaska, 1975, by James M. Orvik, Center for Northern Educational Research, University of Alaska, Fairbanks, Alaska 99701, is available on request.

[5] The report cited earlier (Orvik, 1975) discussed these problems in some detail.

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IN SEARCH OF A HOME: COLONIAL EDUCATION IN MICRONESIA

FRANCIS X. HEZEL, S. J.
PRINCIPAL, XAVIER HIGH SCHOOL
TRUK, CAROLINE ISLANDS

The young Micronesian today is often heard to complain that "The System" is trying to create Micro-Americans: that is, white minds wrapped in brown skins. It is especially the education he has received that is the target of his criticism. Reflecting on his experience, he sees his foreign education as the basic cause of most of the changes he himself has undergone. In his eyes, an alien and alienating educational system is the most insidious, and most successful, instrument for colonization yet devised by a foreign administration.

It would be dishonest of educators not to acknowledge the patent truth of his complaint. Education in Micronesia, like in any political dependency throughout the world, is in fact designed to do precisely what the young man charges. Not ordinarily, as this essay will try to show, through the deliberate political machinations of the foreign power, but because of the very nature of education in colonial countries. Macaulay's famous definition of the purpose of education in India--"to produce men who are Indian in blood and color, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect"--is a valid enough statement of its purpose in Micronesia or in any other dependency.

Education has always had a 'civilizing' function throughout history. Indeed, its principal purpose has been to make of the uninitiated--the "stranger" or "foreigner" to the society (and this includes the young native-born as well)--a "citizen" of the social group, well-schooled in and responsive to its traditions and values. It is the process whereby the barbarian is slowly fashioned into the civis Romanus and the second generation Pole is remade to the image and likeness of his townsmen in mid-western U.S.A., who themselves were so reshaped years before him.

The Visigoth who had just crossed the Roman frontier and proceeded down the Claudian way towards the Tiber would be assimilated into the mainstream of imperial Roman society, as he mastered the Latin tongue, cultivated a taste for Falerian wines, learned to converse on the most recent political events of the day, and possibly learned to read Livy, Sallust, and Tacitus. As he gained a sense of ease in his new milieu, he would, of course, implicitly accept the values that gave meaning to all of the above. The Visigoth, was, in short, being 'civilized' or transformed into a citizen of the Roman civitas, just as surely as a citizenship class of immigrants preparing for their American naturalization. Education, whether formal or informal, has as its final goal the induction of the neophyte into the social group.

The same "civilizing" function is served in tribal societies by an informal educational process that often culminates in an initiation rite. Through a combination of dogma, symbol and ritual experiences, the initiate is instructed in some of the sacred lore that is most prized by the tribe as he undergoes a vital experience which confirms his full membership in the fraternity. It is significant that, as one of the very few formal educational experiences in a tribal society, the initiation rite is directly related to the acquisition of full citizenship.

The tribal initiation rites in the U.S., as sociologists have pointed out, is the public school system. Public schools arose in the last century out of the need to assimilate hordes of foreign immigrants into the mainstream of American life. The Americanization of the children of the foreign-born through their instruction in English language, the tenets of the democratic system, American history, and, of course, the rules of proper conduct was the express purpose of the early public grammar schools. At the entrance to many an old New England school built at the turn of the century is carved in large letters: "Dedicated to Citizenship." The fundamental civilizing mission of the school has remained unchanged to the present day, as many contemporary writers have pointed out. Lately, however, the schools have taken upon themselves the task of integrating into middle class American life "native strangers"--blacks, Indians, and members of other minority groups, who are the "dwellers of urban and rural appalachias." The socializing function of the school is the same, only its clientel has changed along with the rationale for performing its function. In our day education is regarded as the insurance of equal opportunity, the guarantee of a fair share in the American dream. Even if this rationale is now being decried as unrealistic by a growing segment of the population, public education is still necessary to initiate these outsiders into the folkways and traditions of middle-class America.

Schools, as institutions whose aims are expressly educational, are meant to serve the interests of the social group by which they are run. American Schools are intended to Americanize; Japanese schools must Japanize. It is clearly in the best interests of the society not to allow large pockets of its people to remain unacculturated, and the school is regarded as one of the most powerful means of effecting the socialization of "aliens."

But there are rewards, to be sure, for the individual who submits to this socialization process. As the "foreigner"--whether actually foreign-born or not--is assimilated into the society, he develops a self-identity: a sense of who he is, why he is important, and how he relates to others in the society. Ideally he acquires a sense of security and well-being that stem from his new-found ability to identify himself as a bona fide member of his social group. Schools, then, offer not just information and skill-training, but they hold out the promise of instilling in the marginal member of society a sense of belonging. Contrary to the impression often given by proponents of "career-education," the school's chief aim is not to assist students in finding a job, but finding a home.

The school in modern societies and their colonial dependencies is becoming the increasingly pervasive path by which persons gain access to full-fledged adult membership in these societies, as many educational sociologists have shown. If this is so, then we would do well to focus principally on the school in the remainder of this essay. Education, of course, is always understood to be something more complex than merely formal educational institutions, for socialization admittedly can and does take place on the playground and in the home as well as in the classroom. But the importance of the school as an instrument of socialization would appear to be so great that we shall concentrate on it alone hereafter. When the term "education" is used, therefore, it must be understood to mean formal educational apparatus, principally schools.

Given the fact that the business of the school is to "civilize" those who are still marginal citizens, it is not surprising that many young Micronesians should charge schools in the Trust Territory with Americanizing the young. What is surprising, though, is the look of pained astonishment that so often accompanies their complaint. One can only infer from this that the awareness that a foreign-fashioned educational system might produce a foreign product comes as a rude shock to many Micronesians. But do hens' eggs, when hatched, ever bring forth anything other than chickens?

The people of Micronesia generally expect that education will accomplish for Micronesia what it has done for countries such as France, Belgium, Japan and the United States. If it has "civilized" those other nations, why can't it do the same for their islands? If education can bestow other blessings—the imparting of skills and information, the sharpening of critical faculties, the deepening of one's self-awareness--why can't it also prepare the uninitiated for full participation in a distinctively Micronesian society? After all, it "civilized" young Americans for participation in their own society with some degree of success! Why can't it make full-fledged Micronesian citizens of our youth?

With a keen sense of disappointment, if not of real betrayal, they point disdainfully to the profound value changes that are transforming masses of young Micronesian students into "little brown Americans." They single out hair styles, tanktop shirts, or mini-skirts and pants suits as symptomatic of the enormous changes that are being worked on their young. In moments of critical self-reflection, students themselves will admit that something dramatic--and perhaps dangerous--has happened to themselves. On this point, the old and the young are in agreement. Even if neither group is capable of articulating the precise nature of the value changes wrought by education, they both realize that the young are different now. In a real sense, they are citizens of a strange land.

To expect education in the Trust Territory to convert young Micronesians into citizens of their own land is to fail to comprehend the peculiar nature of a colonial education system. I have repeatedly tried to show that the fundamental purpose of education is to make of the "outsider"--the immigrant, the ghetto-dweller, or even the child—a full participant in society. The initiation rites of the Tiv in Africa are designed to produce well-enculturated Tiv tribesmen. The purpose of the suburban Westchester high school is to turn out middle-class Americans with the attitudes and conceptual tools judged to be appropriate to middle-class citizens of the U.S. But when the educational apparatus of the middle-class American school is transplanted in a foreign soil, its definition of "citizen" will almost always remain what it had been in Westchester or Orange County. Is it reasonable to expect that the definition will be substantially altered because the building is shaded by palm trees rather than oaks or elms? "Dedicated to citizenship" might very well be engraved on the school buildings in Micronesia or in any other colonial setting. But to what citizenship? That of the mother country or of the colonial society?

This is the very dilemma of formal education in a colony. How can the metropolitan nation hope to implant an educational system that does anything but reflect its own national/cultural conception of what man is, what he should cherish, and what his duties may be? To put it another way, how can the alien definition of the "good man" be anything but maladapted to a colonial people, with its altogether different perceptions of what is meant by the ideal citizen?

Nevertheless, Micronesia has labored under colonial education, in a variety of forms, during the four successive foreign administration in these islands. Spanish, Germans, Japanese and Americans—each nation proposed its own educational formula for the enlightenment of the Micronesian in keeping with its own particular national genius. Naturally, each of the foreign powers understood "civilization" to mean something different, and each in succession attempted to bestow on the islanders "civilization" as interpreted by that nation. Education during the four colonial administrations, therefore, shows varying emphases at different times.

The Spanish, for whom religion and culture were inseparable (but not identical), left such formal education as was to be provided for the natives in the hands of their missionaries. The modest aims of their educational efforts are best summed up in the words of a Spanish Capuchin who visited Yap in 1887: "We hope to be able to contribute to the material and moral prosperity of the people with spiritual knowledge and instruction in the cultivation of crops." Religious instruction was the heart of the curriculum, but it was almost always supplemented with training in the trades (agriculture and carpentry, in particular). The rudiments of the Spanish language was sometimes also added when students were judged capable enough. Formal education during the Spanish regime, although conducted under the auspices of religious priests and brothers and centered on the catechism, was concerned with those practical skills that the padres felt would help natives advance materially. The school, like the medieval cathedral, was a religious edifice that extended into the temporal domain and permeated the day-by-day activities of the townspeople. Possibly the most notable example was de Colegio de San Juan de Letran, founded on Guam in 1669, which included ranches, farms, blacksmith's forges, and carpentry shops.

Spanish education was too short-lived to leave any permanent traces in the Carolines, but the imprint of over 200 years of Spanish rule in the Marianas is evident in the language, dress and customs of the Chamorro people. What is perhaps the most significant relic of Spanish influence, however, is often overlooked. It is not the Catholic religion itself, but the permeation of that religion into almost every aspect of the culture so that, as in Spain, a fusion of faith and flag remains until today. The integral relationship between the Chamorro culture and Christian religion is testimony to the success of the Spanish "Civilizing" mission in the Marianas.

German education, too, was largely in the hands of the missions, even after the opening of the first public school in 1905. In the eyes of the German administration, the path of advancement lay in mastery of the German language and in the acquisition of the characteristically teutonic virtues of thrift and industry. A government report in 1900 offered this definition of purpose: "Our task as regards the education of the natives is clear--they must be trained to work; they must be encouraged to earn and save money." Like the Spanish, the Germans offered in their schools training in skills such as carpentry and agriculture. The German language, however, had a much more central place in the curriculum than had Spanish in earlier days, with large government subsidies granted to private schools for teaching spoken and written German.

The emphasis may have differed under the short period of German reign, but the sacred educational triad still appears--the language of the foreign power, vocational skills, and "moral training" in those values that were most integral to the national spirit of the foreign power (although not necessarily of the native population). The overall educational program was fashioned so as to supply what, in the judgment of the colonial administration, was most needed to insure the progress of the native peoples towards civilization.

This latter purpose was articulated by the Japanese government at the beginning of its 30-year administration of the Mandated Territory. The fundamental object of the Japanese-run public school in Micronesia was "the bestowal of moral education as well as of such knowledge and capabilities as are indispensable to the advancement and improvement of their (Micronesians') lives." Not surprisingly, the first and most important step towards the "advancement" of the native children was felt to be a knowledge of the Japanese language, and fully half of the native students' class time was spent learning to speak and read Japanese.

At first it appears anomalous that, although the explicitly stated major objective of the Japanese school system was "moral education," so much emphasis in school should be given to language training and so little time (1 hour a week out of 24) allotted to the formal study of ethics. But to Japanese administrators, the study of their own language by half-naked brown natives was much more than the introduction of a new vehicle of communication. The Japanese language was itself education in a value system, and so was considered a suitable means of engendering such attitudes in the young "that when they grow up they may be capable of enjoying the blessings of advanced civilization."

Instruction in the Japanese tongue was every bit as much an initiation into the mysteries of "salvation" in this period as the catechetical lessons of the Spanish priests had been in earlier years. Where the Spanish had seen baptism into the faith as the beginning of the long process of "civilization" (a term that went beyond the Catholic faith), the Japanese--to an even greater extent than the Germans-- had looked to a knowledge of the language as the means of socializing Micronesians and bringing to them the "blessings of civilization." The vocational arts such as sewing, fishing, handicraft and farming were not altogether forgotten by the Japanese, but they were given a place of secondary importance in the educational system.

The Japanese government encouraged the work of the foreign missions in the Mandated Territory, presumably because of the morally uplifting effect that Christianity had on Micronesians. Even if mission schools did not always teach the Japanese language, they did have an acculturating effect of their own kind on the young; and anything, in the view of the Japanese, was better than leaving the Micronesians as they were.

The educational thrust of the American administration during the past 30 years is difficult to summarize in a few sentences. Early policies, established under the Navy and the first decade of the Civil Administration in the Trust Territory, were later reversed during the 1960's as hundreds of classrooms were built, expatriate teachers hired on, and English made the official medium of instruction in the schools. Whatsmore, additional educational programs for those outside of schools were implemented, largely through U.S. federal programs. The handicapped, the aged, unemployed school dropouts, teachers with previous classroom experience, and others have been the target of these programs.

It is not easy to find a clear statement of the educational goals of the American administration, particularly one that is adequate to encompass the various kinds of educational activities that the U.S. has undertaken. There are, however, certain implicit goals that seem to underlie the direction (that education in Micronesia has) taken during the past ten years. In the first place, education is aimed at preparing young and old to participate in a democratic society, one in which their own choices are of great consequence. Hence, the school system aims at providing the kind of information and mental enlightenment that will enable future voters to understand a democratic government and to make wise and constructive choices in the future. It should be noted that this is the same basic aim that Robert Hutchins and other have ascribed to the public school system in the United States. Understandably enough, American education has been charged with the task of preparing the young for insertion into a democracy; and when American education travels abroad, it is likely to retain the same fundamental goal--even in those overseas possessions without a democratic tradition.

Secondly, education in the Trust Territory seems bent on directing Micronesians towards the larger world beyond their islands. In principle, at least, education is to prepare Micronesians to adapt to the inevitable changes that will be brought here in the future, as well as to adjust to new surroundings elsewhere if they choose to leave the islands. This goal is reflected not only in the orientation of the curriculum itself to the "great world beyond," but in the push to send as many young people as possible to colleges outside of Micronesia. The very decision to use English as the medium of instruction in the schools was partially based on the reasoning that it would provide an effective communication link with the outside world.

Thirdly, education is geared to encourage people to fully enter the money economy. The young Micronesian, it is expected, will move directly from school into wage employment. One of the major concerns of education in recent years, in fact, has been furnishing suitable enough skill training in school so that the student will be able to find a job after his graduation (if he is not lucky enough to be able to attend still another school). At times, it begins to appear as if the real purpose of school is to equip the young for future employment.

There are, no doubt, a number of other important characteristics of present-day education in Micronesia that could be added. These three, however, are enough to illustrate the fact that the major goals of education--and of political and economic development as well--have a distinctively American flavor to them. Democratic participation in society, an openness to the world-at-large, and entrance into the dollar economy imply certain values that are fundamental to a people. And it is these values--especially those of freedom of choice and egalitarianism--that lie at the bedrock of the American "civitas."

Colonial education in Micronesia throughout the four successive administrations has successively embodied the values and national genius of each of the foreign powers. One could call this education imperialistic, but that would fail to take into account the fact that each of these foreign governments was genuinely concerned, to some degree or other, with the "advancement of the people" in Micronesia. If the path to this "advancement" was viewed differently by each, this was because the final goal--"civilization"--was also different.

As alien to traditional values as the colonial patterns of education in Micronesia may have been (and still are), they eventually gained widespread acceptance from the native population. Today American schooling is almost universally sought by Micronesian parents for their children. A formal educational system from abroad holds an almost irresistible attraction for colonial peoples, who see in it the promise of emulating the technological development of the great powers on the other side of the sea. With something of the spirit of the cargo cult devotees, they look to the school as the quasi-magical means of introducing the millenary age of material prosperity into their society. Once they have learned the white man's educational secrets, the blessings of material advancement will quickly follow. There shall be jobs and paychecks for the multitudes, professional skills for the exceptionally talented, and a better life for everyone. The colonial power, of course, does little to discourage these fond hopes. With confidence in their indigenous institutions greatly weakened due to long years of contact with the rich and sophisticated overlords from abroad, the colonized are quick to accept an educational system that is brought to them directly from Tokyo or Los Angeles, not so much in spite of its alien nature as because of it.

Congregationalist missionaries who arrived in Hawaii early in the last century had little difficulty convincing the royal family of the value of learning to read and write English. Within five years of their arrival, the chiefs had sent native teachers into all districts of their kingdom to instruct the populace how to read. The mana of the white foreigner, which was already well established among the Hawaiians through such evident measures of technological superiority as the size and construction of his ships and the power of his firearms, was believed to reside in the foreigner's ability to decipher and manipulate the mysterious symbols of his writing system. Education for the Hawaiians then, as for Micronesians now, was readily seen as the precious key that opens the treasure chest from the West.

The dynamics of colonization, therefore, includes the validation of an imposed educational system--precisely because this educational system is foreign in its nature. In no colonial nation has it ever been necessary to march school children into the classroom at gunpoint. One need only show them a merchandise catalogue, preferably illustrated, and then point to the alphabet on the blackboard. At a certain stage in the experience of a traditional society, the school comes to be widely accepted as a necessary means to a highly desirable end.

The nature of colonization is such, then, that the native population tends to conspire with the foreign power in the introduction of a formalized type of education whose purpose is to assimilate the population into the foreign polity.

There comes a certain point, however, when resistance to this socialization begins to develop among the native people. Some of the initial fascination with the alien culture's technology is lost; the material achievements of the foreign power are stripped of their magic. Twelve or sixteen years in the classroom, it is at last understood, are not a guarantee that one will possess the secret of the philosopher's stone. Formal education does not empower one to change lead into gold--to transform a traditional society into a modern industrialized society, or to stock the shelves of every home with produces made abroad. As the expectations of a developing people become more realistic in time, there is a sense of frustration that so much less can be accomplished than was originally envisioned.

At the same time, the eyes of the colonial people are turned inwards on themselves, for education serves to heighten both personal and collective self-awareness. It is only a short while before the especially perceptive individuals among those who have been led down the path to someone else's village will ask themselves what they are doing here. They have followed quietly for a long while, but are becoming ever more anxious as they are unable to pick out any reassuring landmarks. There must be some mistake, they think to themselves as they survey the unfamiliar terrain, for this is not our village--the place where we were born and raised. Someone then asks the one who is leading them why they are being brought here. The answer comes back: we thought that you would be happier living in our village than in your own.

The outcry at this presumptuousness is easy to imagine. And as the realization slowly dawns on the colonial people that they are absorbing life-goals, values and a conceptual framework that is making of them citizens of a strange land, it is to be expected that a loud hue and cry shall be raised. The politest reply might be: "But I do not want to become a citizen of your country; mine will do fine, thank you!" Other responses are frequently far less restrained. It is understandable that the young Micronesian should feel indignant at the way he was taken and look for hints of a conspiratorial political play on the part of the foreign government. And yet, what did he expect American education to produce? First-class Hottentots?

Thus the final outcome of an educational system imposed on a colonial people is a political backlash leading in many cases to a strong pull away from the administering power. The deepened self-consciousness that is the effect of successful education only intensifies this backlash and encourages people to shape for themselves a new identity neither wholly traditional nor one shaped by the civilizing attempts of a foreign power. Education, then, is not always determinative of the political future of the people in a colonial state. Often enough, as in Micronesia today, it prompts those who have nearly acquired foreign "citizenship" to take stock of themselves and ask: "What am I doing here in this strange land?"

Yet, if the seeds of discontent are sown in colonial education, causing a rejection of much that has been willingly embraced before, it is also true that something durable remains in the native people--something that makes them strangers in their own home. There is a residue of foreign values to which they cling long after they have shed the more superficial trappings of the alien government--the foreign language, the white teachers, and the American history courses. There are certain sacred values and truths, imbibed through the years of foreign-born education, that are not seriously questioned by even the most vocal of the young nationalists. No one challenges such statement as these: "I am as good as anyone else in society and am entitled to equal rights!", or "Decision-making should reside in all people, not just a priviledged few." It is the wide acceptance of such values that is the most eloquent testimony to the lasting effects of foreign education, both formal and informal.

These recently acquired values and aspirations, along with a new political consciousness born of the frustration of being prepared to live in a foreign land, are the legacy of colonial education. And so it is that Micronesians, who have endured the attempts of four nations to bestow on them foreign citizenship, now begin the long journey back in search of a home!

TEACHING ENGLISH IN ASIA—AN OVERVIEW

LARRY E. SMITH
RESEARCH ASSOCIATE
CULTURE LEARNING INSTITUTE
EAST-WEST CENTER

My purpose in writing this paper is to acquaint people, both in Asia and outside of it, with the English teaching situation there. I think this may be helpful because I believe there are many more similarities among Asian countries than most people realize. As I travel in Asia, English teachers often respond as if their problems were unique. In one sense they are since each of us is unique and the problems we face are unique, demanding unique solutions. In another sense, however, our problems are very similar and this is comforting. It is also important for non-Asians who hope to live and work there as English teachers to know something about the situation.

Certainly I do not regard myself as an expert on "Teaching English in Asia," but my work at the East-West Culture Learning Institute and four years of experience teaching English in Thailand have provided me with many opportunities to learn about this topic. During the last five years at the East-West Center, I have been responsible for two ESOL (English to speakers of other languages) Programs dealing with teacher training--one at the pre-service level and the other at the in-service level. Asian participants in these programs have come from Hong Kong, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, Malaysia, the Philippines, the Republic of China, Singapore, and Thailand. I have visited each of these countries several times, been to many schools and colleges in each one, and have met hundreds of English teachers who have had the most experience with the English teaching situation in Asia.

As any fifth grade geography student knows, Asia consists of more countries than the ones I have listed above; however my personal experience has been in these countries, therefore my overview will deal only with them. Perhaps you would like to emend the title to read "Teaching English in Hong Kong, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, Malaysia, the Philippines, the Republic of China, Singapore, and Thailand--An Overview."

In countries where English is taught as a second language (ESL as in Hong Kong, the Philippines and Singapore) English instruction begins in the elementary school and is frequently the medium of instruction for other subjects as well. In Indonesia, Japan, Korea, the Republic of China, and Thailand, English is taught as a foreign language (EFL) and instruction usually begins in the secondary school. Thailand is an exception with instruction in English beginning at the fifth grade. The medium of instruction in the EFL countries is always the national language, sometimes even in the English class. Malaysia has been an ESL country but is rapidly moving toward an EFL position. In each country English is usually a required subject, although sometimes not officially, and the number of hours of English instruction per week varies from three to six. In all of these countries there are private schools which teach English at every level, but presently I am talking about the official government schools.

In the EFL countries, English is used mainly as a "language of study" for academic purposes and as the international lingua franca in communicating with foreigners, whereas in the ESL countries English is one of the official languages in which public signs must be printed, court trials must be held, official notices must be written, in addition to having English as a major language of the legislative body and many ceremonial occasions. In both types of countries there are English newspapers as well as TV and radio broadcasts.

The objectives for teaching English in both ESL and EFL countries are often broad and sometimes vague. For example, common objectives are 1) to help the students develop a cultural awareness of the people in countries where English is a native language; 2) to help pupils see the necessity for the study of English as a medium of international communication; 3) to enable pupils to use English for communication and to develop the skills of listening, speaking, reading, and writing, in accordance with the level of education and the age and ability of the pupils; 4) to develop in the pupils a spirit of inquiry so that they will keep increasing their knowledge of English; and 5) to enable pupils to continue their study at higher levels of education.

The unofficial objectives are 1) to pass the entrance examination to the most prestigious high schools and colleges; (These examinations have an important and very difficult English section.), and 2) to offer the students a skill which will enhance their employment possibilities.

The objectives, both official and unofficial, are a bit unrealistic given the amount of teaching time, teacher qualifications, methods and textbooks used, plus class size which is usually between 40 and 50 but sometimes is as high as 80. The emphasis at the secondary and university levels is placed on grammar and reading rather than communication skills. There is very little inter-school/college visitation of English classes which keeps the right hand from knowing what the left hand is doing. There is often a gap between the junior high and senior high as well as the senior high and college/university in regard to what is demanded of the students and what the students are able to do.

Almost always the students are highly motivated at the beginning of English instruction, but this soon begins to flag. They are taught to analyze and admire rather than use the language. A six-year course may have only 500 real teaching hours and in the EFL countries the students can see little reason to learn English except for passing an entrance examination. There is almost no chance to use it. Parents often require their children to study English because "it is good for the children," will enhance their social prestige and perhaps increase the student's financial prospects. There is little or no student evaluation of teachers or programs and the best English students often go to other professional areas like banking and business for money and prestige, not teaching.

Like teachers everywhere in all subject areas, English teachers in Asia are of all sorts. Some are competent and enthusiastic but most are not. Teachers usually lack training in language teaching techniques since they spent their university years mostly reading classic and modern English literature and translating it. There is little supervised practice teaching or study of methodology. A few teachers' English proficiency is good but most have limited aural/oral skills. All of them can read and translate, therefore that is the principal classroom activity. Many teachers of English in Asia were not trained to be teachers at all. Some have not even completed a university degree. These include both nationals of the country and the native speakers who are hired locally. These English teachers lack confidence. They teach "from intuition," or they teach as they themselves were taught. Their attention is more often focussed on finishing the required material assigned rather than on the students' improvement in the skills or achieving the stated objectives.

Although in every Asian country there is a high regard for teachers in society, salaries are extremely low compared with people in business and they have little political power. This keeps many young people out of the profession and forces teachers to work at several different places. A 25-30 hour week of classroom contact hours with students (or teaching hours) is not uncommon. Most teachers are simply too tired to teach or make preparations for teaching with enthusiasm. Because of this few teachers receive and even fewer read professional ESOL journals.

Every country has in-service teacher training but out of necessity, the concentration is placed on improving the teachers' skill in the language rather than on grammatical analysis, theory, and methodology. Little time is spent on techniques of teaching the textbooks being used. Sometimes methods are discussed which are worthy but inapplicable in that country. The audio-lingual method has never had great success in Asian because the classes are too large, with infrequent class meetings, few adequate materials, and poorly qualified teachers for this method. Even though almost everyone agrees that the teacher is the key to any successful teaching program, English teachers in Asia have little control over scheduling or objectives of a program and have almost no say in the purchasing of equipment or materials.

There is a shortage of well-developed sequential English language textbooks and materials even though there is an abundant supply of commercial textbooks which are culturally English or American oriented. The content of the commercial texts is sometimes usable but the costs make them prohibitive, especially in the rural areas. Most Ministries of Education in Asia allow the schools to choose their English texts from a list of approved ones, but a few countries have only one text which must be used everywhere.

Generally, language laboratories are a dream for those schools and colleges which don't have them and a nightmare for those which do. School administrators seem to believe that a language laboratory will solve all of their English teaching problems--perhaps because they are so expensive to install. (There is a tendency to believe that we always get value for money.) Usually there is no budget provision made for maintenance, replacement, or to buy tapes and other laboratory material. Only after the lab is installed do the administrators and teachers realize what havoc the lack of adequate electricity, the ever-present dust, and the constant humidity wreaks on the language lab. Except in Japan, where lab facilities, although not always used wisely, are excellent, language laboratories have created more problems than they have solved.

Asian English teachers are discovering that there are no simple choices among methods of mass instruction. It is difficult to find a teacher of English in Asia who is unaquainted with the audio-lingual method, but it is even more difficult to find it being used to successfully achieve the objectives of the school. The traditional grammar-translation method is still prevalent. English is studied through reading and paraphrasing literary works. Little attention is paid to the communicative skills. There is a great deal of stress on knowing grammar rules and exceptions to the rules, many of which have little practical use. The concern seems to be for skillful translation from English into the national language and vice versa. Speaking and listening activities are neglected because they are not included in the entrance examination and because the teachers have little confidence in their own ability. There is much opposition to this approach but until the entrance examination system is changed, it will probably prevail. In fact, the entrance examination appears to dominate the teaching situation at the secondary school level.

Many high school and college teachers are very interested in transformational generative grammar, perhaps because it is new and fashionable, but they are uncertain as to its applicability in teaching English. There are also those who feel that "pattern practice," a technique of the audio-lingual method, is ineffective.

There seem to be few simple choices among any of the many decisions which must be made dealing with English teaching: Should English be elective rather than compulsory?

What are the best ways to change the entrance examination? Should one skill be emphasized over the others or should all receive equal attention? Would an intensive course of 500 hours be better than 500 hours spread over a period of six years? How is it possible to budget more funds for teachers' salaries, materials preparation, research, teaching aids, and in-service teacher training?

The outlook of the English teaching situation in Asia does not seem bright. As I meet with teachers, administrators, and officials of the Ministries of Education in Asia, I am impressed with their willingness to discuss some of the problems and a desire for basic improvements; however, there is a lack of real communication among them which prevents a thorough understanding of the problems involved.

The odds against the English teachers are so great it is highly questionable that they will prevail without radical modification in the entire system. Some will, no doubt, continue to do an effective job. However, with the limited resources (time, money, materials, and methods) presently available, they are like a gallant college cheering section attempting to change a 49-7 score at half-time. The cheering is not in vain. It inspires everyone to keep trying and not give up (for instance, I am *not* leaving the profession). The game has not been lost but significant changes must be accomplished if the objectives are to be reached.

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INTERNATIONAL EDUCATIONAL COOPERATION AND THE WORLD'S FUTURE

WILLIS H. GRIFFIN
OFFICE FOR INTERNATIONAL PROGRAMS
UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY

Introduction and Background

Introduction

This paper suggests a model intended to integrate three essential thrusts in international education: (1) central concern with the future global society; (2) institutional cooperation across national/cultural boundaries; and (3) integrated planning on campuses, in individual schools, state or provincial education systems, or national educational leadership agencies.

While educational institutions and systems have responded in various ways to the far-reaching and revolutionary social changes occurring since World War II, it can be argued that they have not taken full account of the complex, basic and accelerating nature of change which daily confronts mankind with what Toffler calls "the premature arrival of the future." This criticism applies to education's response to social change both in the less developed and the industrially advanced countries, and it relates to the redefinition of meaning and direction in life increasingly dominated by technology. It applies in particular to the contribution of education to the reorientation of international relations, the recognition of cultural pluralism, the search for more effective means of dealing with major global problems, and to the means of ordering an increasingly integrated world.

The many initiatives in international education of the past several decades provide a foundation for this model, and its implementation relies on the increased sophistication in world affairs in most countries of educational and other professional leaders, and of government; it assumes greater awareness of world phenomena by the ordinary citizen. The many kinds of cooperative experience among educators, institutions, agencies and countries also add to the potential foundations for a forward thrust. The model depends especially on the expertise and insight of experienced international and comparative educators whose competencies are not fully challenged by current efforts to relate education to the contemporary world.

Background

For many readers it is not necessary to trace the history of international education nor to review in any detail the various efforts that have been made to strengthen this dimension of education. Brief commentary will be made on some elements of experience since World War II to identify factors supportive of the model and inadequacies to which the model intends to be responsive; also, very recent and promising initiatives will be mentioned.

Many international education programs fall under the category of "necessary-but-insufficient." This is true of the early UNESCO thrust which was based on the assumption that ignorance contributes to international conflict and therefore knowledge of other nations, societies and cultures contributes to peace and harmony. In 1950 Reinhold Niebuhr pointed up the limitations of this assumption in stating: "Some of the most terrible conflicts in history have occurred between neighbors who knew each other quite well.... Actually the most tragic conflicts are between disputants who know very well what the other party intends, but are forced by either principle or interests to oppose it."*

Efforts conceived largely to enhance national prestige and influence in the community of nations are questionable if international cooperation rather than competition is to be given priority.

Other efforts may be judged ill-conceived in part when they are influenced by models drawn from the experience of the powerful, industrial societies, models which, for various reasons, turn out to be inappropriate or undesirable for other societies, and possibly for the future global society.

The following items, while not intended to constitute a full critique of experience during the past several decades, indicate some elements of experience related to the model to be suggested:

-following the UNESCO lead, a majority of international education programs have focused on international understanding (defined as friendliness for other peoples) and knowledge of other cultures; other purposes which derive from an analysis of the realistic needs of world peace and a better world have been given lower priority, including knowledge of power politics, strategic wisdom necessary for effective international relations, understanding of various ideologies and political systems, knowledge of international economic processes, sensitivity to the gross inequities among peoples of the world, understanding of the dynamics of international decision processes, and awareness of the nature and extent of technological growth and ensuing social change in the world.**

-a variety of approaches have gained prominence in recent years--language and area studies, interdisciplinary studies of world problems, study of international organizations and relations, development studies, and comparative study of religion, politics and education, and peace studies, to name only some--and, promising as these are, their introduction into educational systems has been sporadic, piecemeal, partial and uncoordinated, touching only some schools, colleges and universities, and only some students in these institutions.

-while non-traditional studies and experience have entered the picture--interdisciplinary studies, work-study and experience abroad for academic credit, and greater recognition of the place for sociology and anthropology, for instance--the traditional disciplines, particularly history, and established teaching methodologies continue to hold sway, for the most part. The cause of improved international education has not joined effectively with the several other forces for reform in education, in spite of the potential mutualities that exist.

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*Reinhold Niebuhr, "The Theory and Practice of UNESCO," International Organization, Vol. IV (Boston: World Peace Foundation, 1950), p. 8.

**For a helpful analysis of the objectives of international education see: Ralph Hunkins, Education for International Understanding: A Critical Appraisal of the Literature (An unpublished doctoral dissertation available from University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1968).

-the parochial view of mankind's experience and the force of nationalism continue to pervert many attempts to provide education for an increasingly unified world. The "cold war" between the West and socialist nations, the drive among developing peoples for national unity and status among nations, the ominous threat of nuclear warfare, the uncertainties resulting from a rapidly changing world, the vested economic and political interests which many nation-states feel must be protected or pursued, and the slowness with which effective transnational institutions are taking shape, are some of the explanations for the perpetuation and growth of nationalism. A provincial view of the world remains in many textbooks, is passed on by teachers and supported by home conditioning.*

-while extensive quantitatively, incidents of cooperation among educational institutions and agencies in different countries have seldom meant the coming together of equals, have usually been based on Western models of "development," have assumed largely a one-way flow of benefit, and have served the interests of individual nations more than the cause of building continuing institutions and relations helpful to world order. A common basis for cooperation on which many nations can come together has been illusive.

-that element of educational systems which occupies a particularly potential position of strategic leverage, teacher education, has been less responsive in this area than other elements. Analysis of the papers on the place of international and comparative studies in teacher education presented at the First World Congress of Comparative Education Societies in Ottawa reveals few creative or innovative approaches. Two studies sponsored by the American Association of Colleges of Teacher Education report that the response of teacher education institutions has been minimal.** (Perhaps it is a paradox that a majority of the international and comparative educators in the United States are employed by these institutions.)

-while a certain amount of forward thrust was generated during the period ending in the mid-1960s when strong leadership and support were provided by the foundations and governmental agencies, sustained priority has been difficult for reasons of competition with other pressing problems, in part, but also because international educators have not generated a coherent conceptualization, rationale, set of purposes and strategy as a basis for communicating effectively with fellow educators, community leaders, state and national politicians, and others who strongly influence educational policy and the allocation of resources.

Promising New Developments

The above paints a discouraging picture; there are, however, a number of very recent initiatives that are promising and which relate to the model to be suggested. They include the following:

-the World Council for Curriculum and Instruction, born out of the World Conference on Education at Asilomar, California in 1970, is moving ahead on a number of cooperative projects dealing with education for peace, world-based curricula, and learning for global survival.

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*For recent reviews of the status of efforts in the United States towards world education see the recently issued series of booklets: Global Dimensions in U.S. Education, Charles Bloomstein, general editor (New York: Center for War/Peace Studies) 1972.

**See Harold Taylor, The World and the American Teacher (1968); and Frank Klassen, David G. Imig, and Joost Yff, The International Dimension of American Teacher Education (unpublished); Washington: American Association of Colleges of Teacher Education.

-the World Order Models Project, sponsored by the Institute for World Order, involves academics and others from eight different parts of the world in formulating proposals for the structure of global relations in the decades ahead.

-Universities and the Quest for Peace, an organization with university membership around the world, is establishing in Geneva a transnational studies center committed to the promotion of education free from national bias.

-the Management Institute for National Development in New York City has developed a model curriculum for a one-year course in global systems and human development for use at the secondary or undergraduate level.

-the new guidelines for innovative programs in general education and teacher education under the National Defense Education Act, Title VI, administered by the U.S. Office of Education, has spurred experimentation with interdisciplinary programs in a few colleges and universities aimed at providing an international dimension in general education and teacher education programs.

-the International Educational Achievement Project of the Stockholm based International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement, although it deals so far largely with traditional, cognitive-oriented teaching objectives, is building a fabric of cooperation among more than twenty countries which should have implications for other kinds of cooperative effort.

-a number of peace research centers have emerged during recent years, dealing in part with the development of approaches to the injection of the study of peace, world order and other world problems into secondary and college curricula.

-the creation of the United Nations University which will coordinate a network of research agencies throughout the world concerned with major global problems has been accepted by the international community of nations and has the potential of providing needed intelligence on central concerns of the present and future world community.

Three major categories of questions emerge from the above critique of past experience: those dealing with rationale, conceptualization, definition and central purpose; those dealing with the organization and tasks of international cooperation intended to serve mutual purposes; and, those concerned with planning in educational institutions, agencies and systems that aim at basic reorientation of purposes and programs for all students. The suggested model outlined below is intended as one way of approaching these questions.

The Model

The Future as a Central Thrust

It is suggested that the future global social system be used as the central core around which to evolve a definition and conceptualization of the field of international education and cooperation in education. Cooperation across national and cultural differences requires a common sense of purpose and a shared vision of ultimate goal. Cooperation in education both holds the potential for developing a shared view of the future and depends on the emergence of such a view. The future of global society becomes, then, the raison d'etre of international education and the framework within which educational programs in each country can be planned.*

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*For an exposition of this position see: Margaret Mead, "The Future as the Basis for Establishing a Shared Culture" in Daedalus, 1965.

Some critics of international educators question such purposes as "internationalism" or "world-mindedness," both in terms of their vacuousness and in terms of the difficulties of developing allegiances to a social system as large and as complex as world society.* They are also concerned with the probable conflicts between loyalties to a national system and the global system. On this latter point, there is nothing new about conflict of loyalties as an element of normal human existance; as a partial answer to the problem, it is suggested that the claims of nationalism might be reduced through education to make for a more balanced complex of allegiances in each personality. For our purposes here, however, these problems are recognized as part of the task of devising a meaningful approach to an inevitable situation; it is assumed that some form of global social system now exists and that a more mature and complex system cannot be deterred, given the forces that technology and the explosion of knowledge have let loose in the world. The task for education is to enter more significantly into the process of defining the desired nature of the future global society and to educate citizens and leaders of the future who are competent to guide future events--to make choices that seem promising of a more humane world society than will be the case without such guidance. Answers to the many profound and complex questions involved are not available but, hopefully, they will emerge through greater attention to the future; the students in our schools and colleges will benefit from wrestling with these questions as part of their education. This seems a more realistic alternative than to wait until the elders think they have the answers and decide to impose them on the young.

On this latter point, in the article footnoted above, Nathan states: "Expecting youngsters to value multiple loyalties before there have evolved processes or institutions which can elicit loyalties is putting the cart before the horse. It is manipulating these emotions before they have firm roots in the hope that these loyalties, in themselves, will serve as a prerequisite for the later development of institutions. It is propaganda which aims to shape a future which an elite assumes should and will come about." (p. 77) On the contrary; it seems more reasonable to see global education as an attempt to free youngsters from the inhibitions in which nationalism and parochialism have entrapped them and from the propaganda of narrow socialization processes so that they can participate in grappling with world realities. In the process identities will be built with human efforts across traditional constraints--identities and allegiances that follow naturally from meaningful human relationships rather than take shape as the result of propaganda.

Elements of preferred world futures. While international or global education programs cannot assume a particular model of world organization, they should provide for study of what appear to be desirable elements of future global society, elements which are responsive to the major problems and alternatives which must be taken into account as man attempts to shape his own future. Cooperative efforts to redesign educational programs with a future orientation should include initial and continuing research and analysis on the future (see below); the following elements are suggestive of the problem areas that systematic thought will need to address:

-Cultural and social pluralism. Cultures are stubbornly persistent; they also change, as a result of their own dynamics as well as cross-fertilization from other cultures. They rest on historic roots and provide continuity necessary for human identity and meaning in life. Among them they contribute a rich variety from which alternatives can be chosen as world community takes shape. They make possible a creative synergism productive of alternative answers to problems not found in any one culture. They stand as a fortress against the standardization which some social planners would insist on as a necessary element in planning for the future.

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*See James A. Nathan, "International Relations for Beginners: The World for Scholars and Children" in Comparative Education Review, Vol. 18, No. 1, 1974.

-Shared values, goals, aspirations and experience. The other side of the coin to cultural pluralism is that of shared visions and values, common experience and problems, and of increasing world-wide participation in the application of science and technology to those problems. To argue for recognition of plural means of social expression is to affirm the constancy across cultural differences of human characteristics--basic needs, critical frustrations, gropings for the future, and abilities to reach out beyond self through imagination, creativity and forward planning.

-Identity with mankind. Pictures of the earth as a "blue marble" sent back by the astronauts enroute to and from the moon help to reestablish the unity of mankind and the oneness of the earth. The term "reestablish" is appropriate today when nationalism has grown to dominate man's thinking. This was not always the case. Previous to the peaking of nationalism in Europe in the 18th century, the major religions of the world stressed in universal, the oneness of mankind and a sense of world community. Toynbee and other scholars consider nationalism a provisional stage of man's social development; in this view the regionalism that is emerging in Western Europe, Southeast Asia and Latin America is a hopeful sign.

-Modified nationalism. While broader senses of human community will develop, other focuses of loyalty and identity will continue, including nationalism. Some futurists insist that human survival depends on the elimination of traditional cultures and all vestiges of national identity;* it seems realistic, however, to talk first of the necessary modification of nationalism. Certain conceptions of nationalism are clearly obsolete including these: that the good of the nation-state is the highest good; that sovereignty entitles a nation to pursue what it judges to be its "national interests" regardless of the effects on other nations and peoples; that each nation can decide for itself when its actions should be subject to the jurisdiction of established international courts; that war is an acceptable means for the nation-state to use in winning international disputes; that military might and expertise are to be equated with courage, determination and other "manly" virtues.

-System for ensuring world order. While cultural pluralism, shared values, identity with mankind and modified conceptions of nationalism are necessary elements in any alternative world future, they are only the foundation stones. At the heart of a humane world social system is an equitable and effective system for settling conflict situations, resolving disputes and adjudicating grievances among political units and groups of people in the world. While the maintenance of peace is the sine qua non of world order, an acceptable world order system must not be dependent on the will of a small number of powerful nations who set the terms of peace in keeping with their economic and political interests.

-Institutions for equitable solution of world problems. A just and humane global social system requires the means of going beyond the absence of war alone--a "negative peace." World order model builders speak of a "positive peace" in which institutions and procedures would emphasize four interrelated central values:** the minimization of large-scale collective violence, the maximization of social and economic welfare, the realization of fundamental human rights and political participation, and the rehabilitation and maintenance of environmental quality.

-Just and equitable international economic order. Models of development based on Western and/or Soviet concepts of economic institutions and values, and dominated by unplanned explosion of technology are becoming increasingly suspect. The emergence of a more socially just and humane international economic order will depend on new answers to the problems of dependency-interdependency among powerful and weaker nations, regulation of world trade, management of scarce resources, political control over multinational corporations and cartels, equity in the uses of knowledge, and planning the processes of production, distribution and consumption to serve humane ends.

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*For instance, see W. Warren Wagar, Building the City of Man (New York: Grossman Publishers, 1971).

**See Richard A. Falk, A New World Order for the 1990s (New York: Institute for World Order, 1973).

-Broadened and coordinated systems of participation. The future global society should not be determined by the elite and the powerful alone. Effective means of participation by the less powerful nations, minority groups, lower classes and groups of people lacking a political voice will require the elimination of colonial regimes, diffusion of establishment power, elimination of ignorance and illiteracy, and the greater uses of communications technology to bring people more generally into the determination of public policy.

-Public system for monitoring the present and anticipating the future. Change is occurring so rapidly and in so many aspects of life that the ordinary citizen can only wait for the next turn of events whether it be the outbreak of war in an apparently unlikely corner of the earth, the sudden realization of a world-wide energy crisis, or the emergence of pollution fall-out from the industrial complex which threatens health, food sources and survival itself. Effective social change indicators are needed and information resulting from systems of monitoring critical events and processes throughout the world should be made available widely as a basis for public policy decisions and planning for the future. Considerable sophistication exists in the management of information and in analyzing it as a basis of decisions in industry and government. The nature of dispersed participation in preferred social futures requires the means of making such information and its implications available more generally.

Future Global Society and Educational Purposes

This model of international education assumes conceptions of preferred global futures as a necessary first element in avoiding vacuous and overly general educational purposes. The above is one attempt to project a desirable world future and to indicate some of the world problems with which the future society must deal. Obviously, projections of the future will be inaccurate and partial but they should improve as needed competencies are developed and as man takes greater command of the processes of social and technological change. Accuracy of projection may be less important than active participation by educators, community leaders and students in wrestling with and influencing the shape of the future.

Socio-political theory needed. It is necessary to have a conception of the global social systems that are preferred--this is suggested above; this conception becomes the basis for the ultimate goals for education and for socio-political action. It is also necessary to understand where the world stands today in relation to these goals. Furthermore, if education is to play a role in preparing citizens and leaders capable of helping society to move from here to there, an understanding of the various decision-making institutions, arenas and processes is needed, and knowledge of the actors in these processes. Socio-political theory then becomes imperative as an aid in understanding how the several elements are integrated into a system of decision-making which functions in the day-to-day operations of world society.

Arenas and actors. As the global system becomes increasingly integrated it becomes increasingly complex. A simple model has the nation-state as the main actor and the arena is traditional diplomacy and international relations. This simple model is no longer operative, however. The nation-state is still central, but the rich and powerful nations too often dominate the stage and write much of the script for the community of nations. International organizations, while still largely subservient to the major powers, constitute another complex of actors more important as a vehicle for assuring a voice for the less powerful nations than as an arena in which key decisions are made. Multinational corporations have grown in wealth and power to influence the decisions of the nations in which they are based and, in some cases, to be the determining force in key international decisions.* A loose consortium exists among universities and scholars, research institutes, professional organizations and foundations, constituting a knowledge group interacting with and serving other actors in the world arena. The world communications system is still another actor, using highly technological instrumentations, linking the other actors and providing informational services important to the total system. A vast array of social, cultural, philanthropic and other voluntary organizations play minor but contributory parts in the complex drama.

Citizen-leader role competencies. The above discussion of the decision-making processes is intended only to suggest the scope and complexity of the emerging global social system in operation. A more complete analysis is required as a basis for a comprehensive ordering of the roles to be played by persons educated to relate to the system, influence its values and directions, and participate in it. These roles would vary from country to country, depending on socio-cultural values, political system and status in the world community; for a democratic society the following is one way of depicting the roles: participant in informed dialogue on world affairs topics; informal and formal teacher of children, youth and adults regarding global society; community activist on behalf of particular national policy alternatives; citizen-to-government official regarding world issues; diplomatic representative to other nations or to international and world agencies; international civil servant or professional worker; participant in international service, business, educational or communications organization; people-to-people builder of world community; "world citizen" owing minor allegiance to any one nation-state or society.

However the roles are conceptualized, this necessary task provides the basis for identifying the citizen-leader competencies in terms of which to design instructional programs. Competency-oriented educational purposes and the educational programs planned to accomplish them will vary, naturally, in terms of what is needed by the general citizen and by the international professional or government worker, for instance. They will also vary by level of education, subject-matter area, student background and other variables.

Cooperation as Strategy

The second component of this model of international education is cooperation across national and cultural boundaries. In a very real sense, international education cannot be planned and implemented by educators of a single nation or by persons who are unicultural. To a greater extent, adequate education for a global future is not likely to result from the efforts of persons culturally bound by perspectives, values and sensitivities. Past efforts which have involved a modicum of cooperation usually have been flawed by the easy projection of the values, orientations and interests of the dominant members of the cooperating group.

Cooperation across national and cultural differences, then, becomes a strategy whereby resulting educational efforts can become truly international and global in character and purpose. To accomplish this objective, the following elements of a cooperative thrust are suggested:

Composition of cooperative group. For practical purposes of management and logistics, it is suggested that cooperative groupings be created involving five or six different countries. These countries should represent significant historical, cultural and socio-economic differences. The composition should be such as to minimize the likelihood of domination by any one nation or culture. An illustrative group might include Japan, Peru, India, Kenya, Sweden and the United States.

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*See Robert O. Keohan and Joseph S. Nye, Jr. (Eds.), Transnational Relations and World Politics (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972).

Participating counterpart institutions. As far as is feasible, counterpart institutions or agencies should constitute such cooperative grouping. A group might be made up of universities or colleges with similar purposes in the countries represented. Provincial and/or state departments of education could comprise another group, assuming similar functions are performed by these units in each country. Individual schools or school districts, of one level or primary through secondary is another possibility. Obviously, the cooperative task involving any one type of institution or agency would need to recognize the total educational system in each country, and the competence of comparative educators would be of help in interpreting systems across national and cultural differences.

Commitment and support. The task suggested herein is not one which will be accomplished in a short period of time nor through casual effort. The cooperative groupings we are suggesting should, over time, be multiplied in number and kind so as to constitute a complex network of mutual participation in designing the future. For hope of success, commitment is needed on the part of governments and institutional leadership. Financial support should come from the countries and institutions involved, supplemented by grants from foundations and/or international agencies.

The agenda of cooperating groups. The following agenda is suggested as an approach to the total and continuing task of cooperation:

1. Initiating the analysis of alternative world features and working towards consensus to the extent possible on desirable aspects of future global society. This should involve the best minds available from each country including futurists, relevant other scholars and educators. While the task is a long-range one, early spin-offs or tentative reports should be made available as a basis for work on other agenda items which could be taken up simultaneously or in early succession.

2. Designing educational purposes, through analysis of relevant literature on contemporary characteristics of the emerging global social system, study of the possible means of influencing and participating in that system and its reorientation, and exploration of the citizen-leader qualities the task involves, keeping in mind the kind of future world the cooperative group invisions.

3. Cooperative review of curricula and textbooks related to the study in each country of the other countries in the group, and of historic international events in which two or more of the cooperating countries were involved. The long-range objective would be curriculum and textbook guidelines for the reorientation of social science, humanities and other relevant instruction. (It is not assumed that agreement would be easily reached in this highly emotional area; cooperative grappling with this task, however, would be a spur to autonomous decisions by each country to move away from national and parochial orientations in educational materials.)

4. Identification of critical world problems that should be given more adequate treatment in educational curricula and the development of guidelines for the treatment of these problems. Review of existing teaching approaches would be carried out, again to shed light on the need for reorientation towards common perspectives and the needs of global society.

5. Review of educational exchange, recognizing that study abroad is more important for some educational purposes than others and that there are some kinds of learning critical to the world's future which can only be accomplished through cross-cultural experience. Biculturality would be one such objective; each society needs increased numbers of leaders who have the qualities of biculturality for informed and sensitive participation in the culturally plural world, and the growing number of international and transnational agencies also require these competencies. High priority should be given then, to the use

of educational exchange to accomplish what it alone can contribute, with lower priority being given to other purposes, such as transfer of technology, which may be less relevant in a reordered world.*

6. Review of existing special institutions available to the group for expert input on problems generated by cooperative planning. Such institutions may exist under the aegis of nation-states, such as the East-West Center in Hawaii or the International Peace Research Institute in Oslo; others may be organs of international agencies such as the Transnational Studies Center of Universities and the Quest for Peace in Geneva or UNESCO.

7. Consideration of possible institutions and/or programs which should be created to enlarge the means of continuous cooperation. For instance, each country might establish a study and research center for culture learning. Learning another culture, in contrast to learning about another culture, should be viewed as a positive goal rather than a rejection of one's roots. There is some indication that persons who are bicultural are more creative, flexible, tolerant of ambiguities and adjustable to new situations.** More research is needed on such possibilities.

The above is suggestive of the agenda of cooperation; it is only a beginning and should be considered as such.

Cooperation in designing educational approaches to the future global society may have considerable strategic power for several reasons. In the first place, it increases the probability of escape from the constraints of the big-power and technology-dominated world society of the present and from the contentions of everyday events, focusing on the future as common ground. The natural competition among nations which cooperation might generate could be a positive motivating force. Problems considered too sensitive for unilateral cross-cultural research could be viewed in a neutral light and approached comparatively on a basis of mutuality. Carefully planned group effort would be more likely to get the attention and support of governments. Group concern across national boundaries could lead to greater cooperation on some of the major global problems, study of which would grow out of cooperation in education. And, finally, some of the elements of the "avoidance syndrome" associated with previous models of cooperation might be minimized--half-hearted agreement on unrealistic objectives, assignment of second-rate personnel, failure to follow through on plans apparently agreed to, and partial support.

Comprehensive and Integrated Educational Planning

The third component of this model is effective educational planning. As indicated in the introductory sections of this paper, much of what has been accomplished in international education has resulted from ad hoc, fragmentary, unsustained, and uncoordinated efforts by individual educators, single institutions, and particular nations largely through unilateral action. The time to "get it all together" is long overdue. To accomplish this will entail comprehensive and integrated planning at many levels and in a variety of arenas. This model suggests cooperative planning among small groupings of nations, involving counterpart educational institutions. For the purpose of illustrating some of the necessary elements of effective planning, the university will be used as the unit of involvement. The following, then, constitute central elements in more effective planning of international education programs on campus:

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*For a sensitive analysis of educational exchange and its role in producing men and women who can "mediate between the cultures of the world" see Stephen Bochner: "The Mediating Man and Cultural Diversity" in Topics in Culture Learning, Volume 1, 1973, East-West Center. In the same publication, Volume 2, 1974, see J. W. Berry: "Psychological Aspects of Cultural Pluralism: Unity and Diversity Reconsidered."

**See John and Ruth Useem, The Western Educated Man in India, New York: Dryden Press, 1955.

Institutional policy establishment. The establishment of institutional policy regarding international programs is a prime requisite for effective planning to involve major segments of the institution in cooperation with counterparts in other countries. This should be accomplished through established means for setting or altering institutional policy. This will vary by country and type of institution or agency. For an American university, academic policy is usually set by the faculty operating through its senate, with concurrence by academic administrators and the board of trustees; nothing less than formal formulation of policy will provide the necessary base from which to proceed with planning for international programs.

Administrative leadership. The leadership of responsible administrators at the top and at lower levels is important. Leadership functions include promulgation throughout the institution of established policy and the assignment of high priority. In the case of an American university, it includes interpretation of the importance of international education to the board of trustees, key political leaders, public and private bodies in the community, and to the public in general. Clear understanding of purpose and strong support will be necessary to bring about acceptance of a change in orientation throughout the total program.

Reoriented general education. The general education program of the university should carry the major burden for providing those learning opportunities related to competencies essential for all citizen-leader roles expected of university graduates. The professional units of the university should participate in planning the program, thus making it possible for the general and special studies of some students (future teachers, for instance) to be coordinated effectively. The program should have strong roots in culture studies, should include interdisciplinary and comparative material, and should provide for several perspectives in global problems and international processes.

Special Studies. At both the graduate and undergraduate levels the curriculum should include a variety of academic and professional opportunities for those students desiring to assume special roles in the emerging global society. These programs should be sensitively designed in relation to those qualities needed to contribute towards preferred future world society.

Curriculum design factors. The total curriculum should be viewed as a whole and study opportunities planned and orchestrated in terms of student needs. Several coordinated inputs are suggested: culture and language study relating to a small and varied number of geocultural areas of the world, topical-problem studies of selected problem and process concerns of the world, international and cross-cultural emphases in disciplinary studies in the social and behavioral sciences and humanities, and infusion into appropriate courses throughout with phenomena drawn from the global arena and other societies. While leaving considerable freedom to students in designing their own study programs, the university should clearly include preparation for roles in the future global society as an understood aspect of higher education for all students.

Off-campus learning opportunities. Study abroad, living and working in other countries, cross-cultural experience in minority communities in the home country, internship experiences with government and international agencies, and other off-campus learning opportunities should be carefully planned to complement on-campus study. Students who elect such opportunities should do so in terms of their study objectives and needs and not in terms of whim, financial resources, family background and other factors which make for opportunistic or accidental inclusion of experiential elements in their programs.

Foreign students as a resource. To accomplish the task, every possible resource should be used. Foreign students and visiting foreign faculty members are a unique resource on most campuses and special steps should be taken to benefit from their different perspective and special talents. Their association with other students is an effective means for informal learning across cultures. Foreign students and visiting foreign scholars should be recruited in terms of their relation to the central thrusts of the international studies programs on campus.

Extension activities. As the abilities of the university to speak to the central concerns of a future world society mature, international and cross-cultural learning opportunities should be systematically built into extension programs. Three kinds of purposes would be served: general education and information on world affairs for citizens, special learnings for priority groups such as teachers in schools and colleges, general public understanding of the importance of this dimension of education.

Planning priority. Development of the program dimensions mentioned above should be given high priority in the university's planning and leadership functions. Faculty and student committees should be formed with clear-cut responsibilities for aspects seen as integrated parts of the whole. Special responsibility should be assigned to academic administrators and special positions created for leadership and coordination at the college and university-wide levels. The several publics which the university serves may be brought into the planning. In every way possible, the most effective planning procedures and assignment of support should be provided.

Institutional planning and international cooperation. Institutional membership in a cooperating group of counterpart institutions from a small number of other countries and cultures will provide a major resource for institutional planning. While membership in the group will be voluntary and decisions made on an autonomous basis, participation in the group will provide critical spurs to break out of the unicultural and national approaches to international and world studies. Faculty members and academic administrators should represent the institution in the task forces, steering committees and program committees of the cooperating group. Scholars from the other universities will be available as curriculum consultants on other cultures, world problems and international processes. Student exchange with these particular universities will provide an input. The working papers, interim reports, curriculum and text guidelines and other products of the cooperating group over time should be useful in stimulating needed reorientations of curriculum, teaching and the overall ethos of the university.

Initiating Implementation of the Model

The world is going through a transitional process from the period of imperial control prior to World War II until a coherent global social system comes into being. During this period educational institutions around the world have made sporadic attempts to recognize the many revolutions that are going on and to respond sensitively and effectively to them. They have done so without the guidance of clear policy directions or sense of role. Many efforts may be judged by history as contributing to a better and more effectively ordered world and others may be judged to have been opportunistic or responsive to drummers out of the past. The intent of this model of international educational planning is to suggest a framework for thinking and planning that may help education to break out of past and parochial constraints and to take leadership in creating a more humane, just and coherent global society. Whether or not the ideas and approaches suggested herein have any merit will depend on the extent to which they contribute to change in practice--in the orientation of educational objectives, cooperation across national and cultural boundaries, and in what is actually taught in educational institutions.

Implementation of the model may result from initiative in any one of several places. Individual national agencies, universities or colleges, or school systems might move to build on existing cooperative experience and invite counterparts from a small number of selected other countries to join in an exploratory conference, and move on from there. International agencies such as UNESCO, the United Nations University, or the Southeast Asia Ministers of Education Organization, could take the initiative. The foundations and national or international funding agencies could initiate proposal guidelines suggesting the kind of cooperation described herein.

Whatever use might be made of this model as outlined will benefit from analysis and discussion by informed educators. The next step is for an appropriate agency or group of cooperating institutions to accept the challenge.

Postlude

The gap between the realities of our education system and the emerging realities of the world in which we live is so vast that most discussions of what the future world orientation and priorities in education ought to be seem highly idealistic and impractical; this paper may be judged similarly. Hopefully, this situation is changing, although the complacency in education is difficult to understand in the face of newspaper headlines which daily highlight world problems the solutions to which are inconceivable without major changes in the priorities of nation states including the international processes they largely control and the educational institutions which are still largely attuned to a given society. The critical mass that is needed to "turn us around" is undoubtedly building and recent thoughtful statements such as the following should be seen as contributory to this objective:

> "Many recent analyses of the long-term prospects for mankind have produced gloomy conclusions. Promptly, they were called doomsday prophecies. Yet the rapid succession of crises which are currently engulfing the entire globe are the clearest indication that humanity is at a turning point in its historical evolution. And the way to make doomsday prophecies self-fulfilling is to ignore the obvious signs of perils that lie ahead--which indeed are already felt--and rely solely on "faith." Our scientifically conducted analysis of the long-term world development based on all available data points out quite clearly a passive course leads to disaster."*

> "But now the world has turned irreversibly on its axis. The clock numbering the minutes to Armageddon ticks on. There is still time, but not much. The search for a global equilibrium in all spheres of human life must now begin in earnest, and it must begin at home. We must begin to teach new habits and new propositions. As it is in the college--where there still remains the luxury of joining one's principles to one's life--that a measure of learning and a measure of action may be integrated into a larger whole. It is there that one can still create something worthwhile in the shortening shadow of the twenty-first century without being intimidated by the enormity of the issues." ....

> "So it remains for an organization to come forward and take on some of these important tasks. Somewhere in this country there must surely be a group sufficiently far-sighted to see how learning and readjustment to new world circumstances mesh in profound and significant ways."**

The two quotations above were published since this paper was first drafted; they illustrate afresh the sense of urgency which underlies this attempt to outline a more mature role for education during these perilous times. Also of very recent origin are two projects which seem in harmony with our model of cooperation. The first is called "The International Mankind Project" of the Council for the Study of Mankind and it brings together educators from several countries in a cooperative effort to reorder elementary school curricula and to develop teaching materials which focus on mankind concepts. The chairman of the group is John I. Goodlad of the Graduate School of Education, University of California at Los Angeles and the educators are from Israel, Thailand, Sweden, India, Ghana and the United States.

The second project grows out of the efforts of the World Council for Curriculum and Instruction which was mentioned earlier and involves the teacher training branches of four universities in four countries: The University of Keele in England, the University of Ibadan in Nigeria, the University of Malaysia, and Indiana University in the United States of America. The aims of this project are to develop cooperatively a rationale and theoretical structure for World Studies, and to produce and try out curriculum materials for use both in teacher education programs and in schools.

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*Mihajlo Mesarovic and Eduard Pestel, Mankind at the Turning Point: The Report to The Club of Rome, New York: Dutton/Reader's Digest Press, 1974, in the Preface, p. vii.

**George W. Bonham, "An American Agenda: II" (Editorial) in Change: The Magazine of Higher Education, Volume 7, Number 2, March 1975, p. 13-15.

These two projects are illustrative of the experimentation which should be encouraged and multiplied during the current period of lag between the realities of the world of today and tomorrow and the realities of the moribund educational systems in all countries. These and other projects will provide valuable experimental experience in anticipation of the time when the critical mass of awareness of the need for major change in educational priorities arrives. Unfortunately, most educational institutions remain bogged down with bureaucracy, the narrow concerns of national, state or provincial governmental officials, limitations on travel expenditures for cross-national dialogue and planning, traditional criteria for promotion which tend to discourage involvement in international projects, student interests motivated largely by job placement concerns, and institutional goals that remain dominated by local and national interests and priorities, among other constraints. Hopefully, sufficient future-oriented leadership will emerge to encourage the spawning of other experiments in cross-national cooperation of significant kinds.

INFORMATION FOR CONTRIBUTORS

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DILEMMAS OF LANGUAGE TRANSITION: CHALLENGES TO LANGUAGE PLANNING IN INDIA

LACHMAN M. KHUBCHANDANI
INDIAN INSTITUTE OF ADVANCED STUDY
SIMLA, INDIA

Considering the linguistically heterogeneous composition of nearly half of the districts in India--where minority speech groups exceed 20% of the district population (152 out of 330 districts, at the time of the 1961 Census)--the numerical majority of twelve regional languages in respective regions does not necessarily correspond with the language communication patterns in those areas (Khubchandani 1969a; 1972). Demands for the regional languages media during the Independence struggle signified the assertive attitudes of the pressure groups aligned with the numerically dominant language in a region. During the past three decades, with the politicization of language pressure groups, attention has been greatly focused towards legislating the roles of language in public spheres of communication, i.e., administration, education, mass media, etc. (Nayar 1969, Das Gupta 1970). In this regard, national leaders show great mastery in tight-rope walking, recognizing the strengths and weaknesses of diverse pressure groups in language politics. With a view to resolve the highly sensitized issues of language privileges, several language labels--such as, home language, regional language, link language, national language, official language, literary language, library language, world language--have acquired political salience in education programs.

Medium of Education

For a nation such as India with a multilingual and federal set-up, education is made a responsibility of the states. The constitution of India provides full freedom to the states to choose a language or languages in a region as 'official' language(s) (Article 345). It also allows linguistic minority groups to receive education through their mother tongues and set up institutions of their choice for this purpose (Article 30). Hence, one finds wide variations in different states as far as the medium, content, duration, and nomenclature of educational stages are concerned. There is inevitable flexibility in the weightage assigned to different languages in the total educational programs; the framing of language curricula; prescribing textbooks; etc. A national policy of education emerges out of a consensus arrived at among the states constituting the federal polity. The role of the Union Government is, therefore, largely confined to promoting the national policies through seeking mutual accommodation from individual states, coordination of institutions for higher education and research, and for vocational and technical training, persuasion of language-elites, and offering incentives of resources at its command for specific programs. The Union Government does not exercise much control over the implementation of general education programs.

At present in the field of education, all states have the provision of teaching the students of major Indian languages through their mother tongue or through their language of formal communication (as Maithili and Rajasthani students get education through Hindi, and Kashmiri students through Urdu) up to the school leaving stage. Many universities now provide instruction in the medium of regional languages at the undergraduate and graduate stages in arts and commerce faculties; but English still continues to be the principal medium for higher education, particularly in law, science, and technology faculties.

About eighty languages are being used as media of instruction at different stages of education. A large number of them are used only as preparatory media at the primary education stage (for classes I and II, often extended up to class IV; a few are stretched up to class VII as well), before a student switches over to any major language as the medium at the secondary education stage. Some tribal languages, spoken by smaller populations, are also promoted as elementary media by private institutions (missionary schools, monastaries etc.). There are fourteen principal media languages, comprising eleven regional languages (including the pan-Indian Hindi), two languages without any region--Urdu and Sindhi, and one foreign language--English. Some prominent Indian languages--such as Hindi, Bengali, Telugu, Marathi, and Urdu--are now being extended as alternate media to English up to undergraduate and graduate levels in the universities of respective regions, depending upon their developmental stages. Foreign languages like Persian, Portuguese, and French are also retained as media in a few urban schools.

Many distinct scripts are in vogue for writing these languages. Sanskrit, Hindi, Marathi, and also Nepali are written in Devanagari script; Urdu, Kashmiri, and Sindhi in Perso-Arabic script. Other major Indo Aryan and Dravidian languages (also Tibetan) have distinct scripts derived from early Nagari system. Some vernaculars and tribal languages have adopted Devanagari, Roman or regional scripts. Khampti in Arunachal uses a variation of Thai script. With the emphasis on literacy programs through mother tongue, many languages of small speech groups are now being committed to Devanagari or Roman writing, depending upon sectarian or regional pressures.

The Education Commission (1966) envisaged setting up some institutions, at both school and university levels, with pan-Indian languages--Hindi and English--and some of the world languages as media of instruction.[1] What this amounts to is that at every stage there will be institutions available with specialization in a particular medium and students can select a school or college with a medium of their choice.

Three-Language Formula

In a country where no single language meets all the needs of an ordinary literate citizen, pan-Indian languages like Hindi and, for some time to come, English occupy a significant functional position in the national life. Amidst sharp controversies concerning the role of different languages in education, a broad consensus has been arrived in the 'Three-Language Formula' which provides a policy base for prescribing languages in the school education (Khubchandani 1967). The definition of mother tongue, and the feasibility of teaching mother tongue to linguistic minorities in different states on the grounds of practicability have dominated the thinking of policy makers in assigning a language the first place for study during the primary and secondary stages of education. The introduction of second and third languages at the lower and higher secondary stages have remained tied up with the issues of language privileges, cultural prestige, and socio-economic mobility.

The University Education Commission in 1949 first considered the teaching of regional languages, general language (Hindi), and English in schools. The Secondary Education Commission in 1953, in a rather generous mood, suggested the teaching of five languages: mother tongue, regional language, two 'federal' languages--Hindi and English, and also optionally a classical language--Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrit, Persian, Arabic. The Council for Secondary Education (1956) settled down to the Three-Language Formula, recommending mother tongue, Hindi and English for the non-Hindi speaking population, and Hindi, any other Indian language, and English for the Hindi speaking population. The Central Advisory Board of Education in 1957, also endorsed the Formula. But the tussle between the Hindi and English lobbies continued over the issue of second place in the education curriculum under the Three-Language Formula.

The Education Commission in 1966 recommended a liberalized version of the Formula, according to which it is expected that a student at the completion of the lower secondary stage, would have acquired sufficient control over three languages: mother tongue and two non-native modern languages, broadly, Hindi as official medium and a link language for the majority of people for interstate communication; and English as associate official medium and a link language for higher education and for intellectual and international communication. "By and large the pupils in the Hindi areas will study Hindi, English, and a modern Indian language, while the vast majority of pupils in non-Hindi areas will learn the regional language, Hindi, and English."

According to the modified Formula: (i) mother tongue or regional language will be studied for 10 years (classes I-X, age 6-15), (ii) the official language--Hindi, or the associate official language of the Union, English--will be taught for a minimum of 6 years (classes V-X, age 10-15 years), and (iii) a modern Indian or foreign language--not covered under (i) and (ii) and not used as the medium language--will be studied for a minimum of 3 years (classes VIII-X, age 13-15 years). The choice of determining the second or third places for Hindi or English was left with the states.

But the Formula has been put to different interpretations by different states. On the one hand, Hindi states like Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, and Himachal Pradesh provide Sanskrit as the third language, in place of a 'modern' Indian language, and on the other hand West Bengal and Orissa also favor Sanskrit at the cost of Hindi as the third language. Two states--Tamil Nadu and Mizoram--have backed out from the compulsory provision of the third language as envisaged in the Formula, thus avoiding the teaching of Hindi. For several linguistic minorities, it has virtually become a four languages formula, as many state governments insist on the compulsory learning of regional language.

Some states like Andhra Pradesh, Mysore, Maharashtra are experimenting with the teaching of 'composite' courses, by combining a modern Indian language, usually mother tongue, with a classical language--Sanskrit (or Urdu along with classical Arabic) to be offered as first language after the primary stage.

There are many minority languages confined to small pockets in almost every state; some of these languages are proliferated widely in the state or are spread in more than one state. Generally the number of languages provided for teaching at the elementary stage is higher, and the number gets reduced as a student moves upward on the educational ladder. Various criteria are applied in different states for selecting languages as a subject of study: number of speakers, spread of the speakers in different areas, cultivation of language, etc. Because of the prevailing antagonism over the language issue, many state institutions dodge the compulsory provision of teaching second and third languages (Hindi and English) by making "passing" in these languages optional.

In addition to the compulsory teaching of three languages under the Formula, many states provide for the teaching of one or two additional languages on an optional basis. Optional languages are usually the additional regional language(s) for linguistic minorities or a classical language (Sanskrit, Pali, Ardhamagadhi, Avestha, Persian, Arabic, Hebrew, Sriac, Greek, Latin), or Hindi, or English, or any other modern Indian or foreign language (French, German, Italian, Spanish). These are usually studied at the terminal stages of school education, stretching from three to six years. Some institutions manipulate the choice of other subjects in favor of studying optional languages, e.g., Rajasthan allows the study of three optional languages at a time. Most popular among the classical languages as optional languages are Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian. In eastern states, Maithili, Nepali, Santali, Khasi, Garo, Manipuri, Mizo, Bodo, are also offered on optional basis. Khasi is offered as a subject of study up to the B.A. in Meghalaya. Recently Dogri has also been introduced as a subject of study in the Jammu and Kashmir state.

In spite of heavy weightage given to language learning in the education curriculum one notices general devaluation of language instruction, because of the lack of motivation and also of coordination. So far the general structure of language instruction has not been studied objectively and the linguistic content is not spelled out adequately. The allotment of more or less time to the teaching of particular language is judged as a prestige or status issue for that language. In absence of a clear objective of learning a language, one notices many political pressures--literary prestige of a language, socio-political privileges of language speakers--being applied for incorporating specific languages in the curriculum. At places language programs are allotted out-of-proportion share in the total teaching priorities, in order to suit the climate of language privileges.

Different weightage is assigned to different languages in the total instructional program. Generally schools in different states devote between one-quarter to two-thirds of the duration of total teaching periods to the teaching of languages.

Tussle Over University Medium

When the British left the country in 1947, there were many schools in which education up to primary and secondary stages was given in major Indian languages of respective regions. But at the higher education stages, the universities recognized only English as the medium with no alternatives.[2] During the Independence struggle, in thrust for language autonomy and language privileges, many political and educational organizations had built up strong pressures to extend Indian languages as media at the university level.[3]

Initially, the new Congress Government showed a good deal of enthusiasm for rapid change in the medium policy, and some universities expressed their willingness to introduce Hindi, Urdu, and other regional languages as media in five years time (India 1948). The University Education Commission in 1949 also endorsed the view that the switch over to mother tongue education should be achieved within next five years in all universities so as to promote cultural renaissance and social integration. But soon it became evident that due to the conflicting ideological pressures among the national leaders and also due to the unenthusiastic response from the education experts who operated within the 'established' system, the government had to face an uphill task as far as the fulfillment of such aspirations was concerned.

In this tussle for leadership among the 'established' and the 'rising' elites, various language interests groups adopted rigid stands regarding language policy at the university stage:

1. The supporters of English claimed the virtues of having an 'advanced' medium for technological and scientific progress.

2. The supporters of Hindi were motivated by the interests of cultural regeneration and cohesion at the national level.

3. The supporters of regional languages emphasized the facility of expression for students, and were guided by the claims of equal privileges and autonomy for their languages.

National leaders like Nehru, Azad, and Zakir Hussain (1950) were the early champions of common medium. Moderating over the rigid postures in medium controversy, they suggested the alternate media policy, where Hindi serving the national interests could be adopted as the university medium along with English as a universally developed medium of knowledge. But the Tarachand Commission (1948) rejected Hindi as common medium for universities and suggested regional media in the states for administrative and academic purposes, restricting the common medium for the federal government.

The Official Language Commission in 1956 spelled out the criteria for the choice of medium at the university stage on the basis of the facility of expression, and the usefulness of such medium for students. It endorsed the alternate media policy with regional language as the major medium. A variety of solutions cropped up in the dissenting notes:

1. English with alternatives (Hindi, or dominant regional language).

2. Hindi with alternatives (English, or regional languages).

3. Sole Hindi medium.

4. Sole regional language medium.

The latter two suggestions were later dubbed as 'Hindi imperialism' and 'language chauvinism' respectively by the opponents of these solutions in the controversy.

During the fifties many socio-political and legal battles were fought over the university medium issue concerning Bombay, Gujarat, and Madras universities. The state governments' enthusiasm for switching over to Hindi (for Bombay University), Gujarati (for Gujarat University), and Tamil (for Madras University) were frustrated by professional bodies. Hence, by and large, the states had to compromise their position, and leave the program of switch over in universities largely unimplemented. At the time of linguistic reorganization of states in 1956, it was strongly felt throughout the country that language tensions were undermining the national unity. The demand for a nation-wide common medium got into momentum on the pleas that national loyalty requires free and rather intense communication within the nation, and regional languages as sole media will damage the administrative, judicial and academic integrity and scientific pursuits of the country.

The University Grants Commission (UGC) in its 1960 Report pointed out the difficulties of students when moving from a mother tongue-medium school to the English-medium university education, leading to parrot-learning and the crippling of original thought. It strongly pleaded that the sole dependence on English was widening the gulf between the educated few and the uneducated masses, which cannot be nourished in a democratic society. Earlier the Official Language Commission (1956) had also emphasized the deteriorating effects of English-medium education, such as, 'a wearisome burdening of the memory, a sacrifice of the faculty of independent thinking, and a blunting of intellect (p. 89).'

Hence from early catholic stands of sole English, Hindi, or regional language, by 1961 a new approach promoting a link language had gained favor among national leaders. English and Hindi enthusiasts again seized the opportunity for claiming the 'new' link status. Some southern and eastern states showed preference for English in place of Hindi as a common medium. The Link Language Formula was evolved by the Central Advisory Board of Education in 1962, suggesting that regional language medium would be necessary for removing the gap between the masses and the intellectual elites; and English as the 'transitional,' and Hindi as the 'eventual' link languages will promote national unity, mobility among teachers and students, and the standards of education. The timing of the switch over to the new system was left open. Concerning the eventual adoption of Hindi as the link language, a veto was given to the states, and also to the professionals for gradual and well-prepared change from English to regional languages and Hindi.

Many professionals continued to emphasize the utility of a highly cultivated media as a precision-instrument of thinking and communication through which students can be trained in logical thought and in the disciplined use of words. A UGC Committee reporting on Standards of University Education (1965) went to the extent of saying: "A change is justified only when the university is confident of raising standards by doing so. Unless an Indian language has grown up to its full stature, with a good literature in science and other subjects, the move for its acceptance as the medium of instruction immediately would be a retrograde step" (p. 71). It is interesting to note that this argument against Indian languages has been held by some Indian elite for over a century. The objection of the Lahore Indian Association in 1876 against establishing a vernacular university at Lahore is couched in almost the same phraseology that the vernacular medium will be a 'retrograde and reactionary' step as there being 'in the vernacular languages a sad want of textbooks for the higher examinations' and 'the English being dispensed with, the standard to instruction must necessarily be lower than that of other universities' (Naik 1963: pp. 283-296).

After the unsuccessful attempts of the fifties, the forces of hypersensitive language chauvinism are now considerably weakened, and rapid change in shifting the media of education at the university level is ruled out. The status quo of English as a compulsory medium for some time to come is now being widely accepted in most of the university campuses, on the pleas that knowledge is more important than the medium, and standards are more important than the time tables. By hard struggle the Indian languages are now proving themselves increasingly practicable and acceptable for a wider range of study in the 'elitistic' framework of education. Today after the lapse of over a quarter century, the citadels of higher learning have yielded only in providing an alternate medium of regional language usually associated with the 'ordinary' tradition in education, for humanities and commerce courses up to graduate level.

The quality and prestige of 'advanced' tradition still rests with the English medium.[4] There are over twenty universities, which still maintain their unilingual character, and provide education only through English. These are the universities in the metropolitan areas--Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta, Madras; many southern universities such as Bangalore, Kerala, Sri Venkateswara (Tirupati); and also those imparting professional education such as agricultural and technological institutions, where there is no alternative to English. At the same time, many universities of Hindi and Bengali regions have been relatively more enthusiastic about providing regional language as an alternate medium along with English.

Thus the English status quo supporters have won the battle of time, and the Hindi and regional language supporters have felt contented with the formal recognition of their viewpoint, and also with their claims over large funds for language development.

Linguistic Minorities

It is rather amazing to find in a large nation committed to the gigantic task of eradicating illiteracy, its intellectuals, with their political power and educational expertise to get entangled in the web of language privileges at the university level under the pretexts of the range and quality of education. During the British rule the English medium indisputably remained a mark of superior 'advanced' education, and the regional languages media were conceded a role of somewhat inferior 'ordinary' education in rural and urban areas (for details, Khubchandani 1971; 1975a).

With the professed policy of the Indianization of 'alien' education system, the administrators were soon confronted with the demands of mother tongue education by the linguistic minorities. Initially the administrators approach was of 'harassed bureaucrats trying to impose a workable system on linguistic chaos' (Dakin 1968: p. 31). Eighty-seven per cent of the country's total population is aligned with 12 major regional languages: 76 per cent residing in their home states, and 11 per cent staying outside their home regions. Once the dominant groups' right to mother tongue education was fully assured in their respective states, the new governing class did not lose much time in focusing its attention on the practical objectives of economy, utility, communication, and political cohesion, as far as it was concerned with the demands of the remaining 13 per cent linguistic minorities, comprising a total of over fifty million speakers (at the time of the 1961 Census).

The first President of India, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, pointed out in 1961 that the costs of making separate arrangements of mother tongue education for different linguistic groups would be 'colossal' and it 'is feasible only if the linguistic group is of an appreciable size and forms a compact region. It cannot be reasonably demanded by those who are very small in number or are scattered in different parts of other linguistic regions' (India 1961). The Secretary to the University Grants Commission also pointed out: "A child bred in an area where the regional language is something other than its own mother tongue acquires the regional language with almost the same facility as that with which he acquires (his) mother tongue (Mathai 1959: pp. 9-10)."

After initial reluctance, the narrow interpretation of mother tongue[5] was conceded in favor of linguistic minorities who identified with a major language outside the region--languages which 'transcended provincial barriers' (Azad 1949). But major languages without any specific region, such as Urdu and Sindhi, had to face initial discrimination in certain states like Uttar Pradesh in getting the facilities of mother tongue education.[6] The concessions to the tribal and other such minority languages were slow in coming. The All-India Language Development Conference in 1953, and the Congress Working Committee in 1954 accepted tribal languages as media in the primary school stage. The Second Five Year Plan in 1956 also mentioned, under the tribal welfare programs, about the facilities for preparing special textbooks in different tribal languages (pp. 589-590).

In 1956 Articles 350A and 350B were inserted in the Constitution by the Seventh Amendment Act according to which: "It shall be the endeavour of every State to provide adequate facilities for instruction in the mother tongue at the primary stage of education to children belonging to linguistic minority groups." But the Constitutional provisions for safeguarding the interests of the linguistic minorities being recommendatory and not mandatory, one notices lack of enthusiasm on the part of state authorities in their implementation of such programs. Authorities still have not given up their hope that in practice the linguistic minorities will come to accept the advantages of the regional languages.

Polarization of Issues

Many of the issues generating acrimonious debates at the national level, sometimes erupting into campus skirmishes, do not seem to have much relevance to the quality of education. Prominent axes over which the medium controversy have become polarized during the past one hundred and fifty years are indicated in Table 1.

In long-drawn socio-political and legal squabbles over the medium, one notices various shades of opinions moderating between the two extremes. Eventually the status quo experts seem to have temporarily succeeded in their strategy by their insistence that the Indian vernaculars should first be cultivated through translations from advanced languages and, before even undertaking this task, they must equip themselves with the scientific terminologies appropriate for different subjects. Because of the 'high brow' elegant values in the formal language behavior, the task of cultivating urban-based standards has been the prerogative of the so-called 'purists' of language. Ironically, in the elite parlance, the modern languages saturated with the instant derivation of terms from non-native classical and neo-classical stocks--Sanskrit, Perso-Arabic or classical Tamil--are regarded as shuddha 'pure' languages, but those mixed with the everyday life terms borrowed from other living languages--such as English, Bengali, Marathi, matching with the newly acquired concepts from different cultures--are regarded as khichRii 'hotchpotch, pot-pourri' languages (Khubchandani 1968; 1969c).

The preparation of textbooks for teaching technical subjects at the higher education stage is guided by the values set by ideological and literary leadership, and not by the exigencies of individual subjects, of professionals, and of the recipients of education. Thanks to the purists' antagonism towards endowing new concepts with expressions borrowed from real life, many scholars in various fields, finding the lofty coinages forbidding, are discouraged from making meaningful contributions through their native language.

TABLE 1

Conflicting issues	Extreme stands professed by the 'established' elites	Extreme stands professed by the 'emerging' groups
1. Objectives of education	universal values of knowledge	knowledge in consonance with cultural background
2. Role of language in education	autonomy for mother tongue as a full-fledged medium (from primary to advanced stages)	language hierarchy with multi-tier media (preparatory, auxiliary, and major media--linked with the relevance of education)
3. Choice of medium	common medium (national or universal)	plural media (regional and minority languages)
4. Requirements qualifying medium languages	(a) advanced languages, with 'tradition-inspired' literary standards.	vernacular languages, with prevailing 'situation-bound' implicit propriety controls
	(b) cultivated with 'elegant' terminologies and translations	endowed with uninhibited convergence resulting from pidginization, hybridization, code-switching
5. Pace of change	status quo or, if change at all, only after adequate preparation	rapid change from dominating language(s) by creating 'vacuum' in favor of vernacular languages

Various programs of change in the medium policy pay scant regard to the reorientation limitations of the professionals, who in turn adopt the 'obstructionists' attitude in implementation. Teachers who could play pivotal role in implementation programs are consequently reluctant to join in the processes of language shift, as most of them regard the issues concerning language policy being politically motivated and falling short on the test of practicability. One often notices a strong bias among them for leaning towards the rigid political stands concerning the functions and the content of different languages in the education curriculum. Against this background, teachers particularly of the advanced stages of education, who are themselves the product of select education system remain, by and large, uninvolved in the developmental processes of language media, demanding the cultivation of Indian languages on a platter and waiting conveniently till the 'developed' textbooks are produced by the language experts.[7]

The actual beneficiaries in this game seem to be the multilingual elites who adopt language postures according to the ideologies prefering cultural resurgence, language autonomy in education, common medium, elegant styles, and 'vacuum' theory; but in actual usage, they feel at home in the prevailing patterns in education--cherishing universal knowledge, language hierarchy, alternate media, hybridization, code-switching, and status quo. One is confronted with an interesting characteristic of regional 'neo-elites' who have succeeded in manipulating the colonial education system to their advantage by aligning themselves with the masses through the demands of cultural resurgence and rapid change in the education system, but at the same time professing the 'elitistic' values of language autonomy, uniform medium, and elegant styles of 'school' language. Hence in everyday verbal communication one notices enormous fluidity and diversity of codes dealing with informal situations, whereas in the formal situations, particularly in the written form, one demands compartmentalized 'appropriate' and 'correct' usage according to the professed language policy.

One of the serious handicaps in implementing language education policies by different education agencies at the central and state levels is the continuance of the inherited dichotomies of 'ordinary' and 'advanced' traditions, and the urban-biased system of education as shaped during the colonial rule. From the administrative point of view 'language diversity, differentiation, distribution, and development all intensify difficulties of eradicating illiteracy' (Dakin 1968: p. 18). Amidst the conflicting ideologies concerning language, the administration tends to override the difficulties by short-cut means, promoting ad hoc solutions. On the grounds of feasibility, many programs remain unimplemented because of the paucity of monetary and human resources, and the administrators content themselves with the plugging of holes in the functionally out-dated system, which does not show much consonance with the developing aspirations of the new nation.

Plural Media

The heterogeneity of communication patterns in many regions, unequal cultivation of different languages for their use as media, demands of 'high brow' elegant versions of school mother tongue, non-availability of personnel with adequate command over the textbook language, and the switching over to another medium in the multi-tier media system without adequate preparation are some of the difficulties faced by learners initiated to education through the mother tongue medium.

The issues regarding the content, the spread, and the medium of instruction have been matters of great concern to educationists for a long time. Contemporary thinking on the subject has come a long way from the early phase of selective education through the media of classical languages (such as, Latin, Greek, Sanskrit, Persian-Arabic) and colonial languages (such as, English, French, Spanish, Portuguese) to the later phase of universal education through the media of the student's mother tongue. But the multiplicity of mother tongues in various regions has led to the re-examination of the supremacy of mother tongue medium stretched over the entire education career. In recent years, many political and academic agencies have lent their support to the claims of imparting education through either a single dominant language in the region, or through some sort of compartmentalized or selective bilingual media, in order to keep pace with the socio-economic demands of rapid modernization.

In the background of multiple-choice medium policy, the three stages of education have acquired distinct patterns of choice in the Indian education system:

1. Primary stage:

   Dominant regional language,
   Pan-Indian language--English/Hindi,
   Other major languages, or
   Newly cultivated languages (as preparatory media).

2. Secondary stage:

   Dominant regional language,
   Pan-Indian language--English/Hindi, or
   Other major languages

3. Higher education stage:

   English as developed medium, or
   Hindi and regional languages as emerging media.

In recent years some multilingual states, mostly in eastern India, have introduced as a state policy, bilingual education in which a developing language in a region is used as a partial medium, together with English, Hindi, or the neighboring regional language as the major medium. Some states are initiating bilingual schooling for their tribal populations; various minority communities, particularly in urban areas, also prefer bilingual media as shown below:

TABLE 2

	Bilingual Media at Primary Stage	State
A.	Manipuri - English	Manipur
	Khasi - English	Meghalaya
	Garo - English	Meghalaya
	Mizo - English	Mizoram
	Assamese - English	Arunachal
	Hindi - English	Andaman & Nicobar Islands
B.	Santali - Elementary Hindi	West Bengal
	Tibetan - Elementary Hindi	West Bengal
	Kuvi - Oriya	Orissa
C.	Kashmiri - Urdu	Jammu & Kashmir
	Urdu - English	Jammu & Kashmir
	Sindhi - English	Maharashtra
	Sindhi - Hindi	Delhi
	Panjabi - Hindi	Chandigarh
	Malayalam - English	Lakshadveep Islands

Though the policy of bilingual media is, by and large, not encouraged in 'prestigeous' institutions, in actual practice one notices a good deal of code-switching and hybridization of two or more contact languages in informal teaching settings. In spite of the overwhelming state patronage to respective regional language media, there are many multilingual institutions with multilingual teachers catering to the needs of diverse populations spread in every state. Many minority institutions in every state impart education through minority languages, and/or pan-Indian languages like English and Hindi, depending upon the availability of textbooks, teachers, and the trends of language maintenance in a community.

Types of media are very much diversified in character. Though many states have a policy of promoting the 'exclusive' use of mother tongue as medium of instruction, in actual practice many students experience a shift in language medium at the one or the other stage of their educations career, depending upon the context, domain, and channel:

1. Passive and active media: Students listen to lectures in one language and write answers in another.

2. Formal and informal media: Formal teaching in the classroom is conducted in one language, but informal explanations are provided in another language.

3. Multi-tier media: Elementary education is initiated through mother tongue as the preparatory medium, but when a student moves upward in the education ladder, he has to shift to a more cultivated medium.

In the present set-up of education, a majority of students, mostly after high school stage, face the problem of switching over from their mother tongue to a common existing medium--English or, in a few cases, Hindi at the university stage. Success of the multi-tier system lies in the adequate preparation for shifting from one medium to another. To achieve this it will be useful to formally introduce bilingual education at the higher secondary stage (classes XI-XII), based on a combination of the mother tongue and common language(s)--English or, in some cases, Hindi, the proportion of the latter gradually increasing till English, Hindi or both become the media at the postgraduate stage (Khubchandani 1968).

Experiments on bilingual and bicultural education conducted in the United States (Chicano, American Indian, Micronesian bilingual education programs), Canada (English and French), Soviet Union, Yugoslavia (Serbo-Croatian, Hungarian and Albanian programs), Philippines (Tagalog and English) and other countries have shown favorable results among linguistically heterogeneous communities. But so far, little attention seems to have been paid in evaluating the differentiating roles of mother tongue and non-native languages as media of instruction. Bilingual and bicultural education requires a degree of planning, a proficiency in the language of the classroom and in the language(s) of learners, and a high level of skill in teaching.

As already pointed out, in actual practice one notices a wide gap between the professed language policies and actual practice in a classroom in the Indian situation. It is not unusual to find institutions with anomalous patterns of communication where the teacher and taught interact in one language, classrooms are conducted in another, textbooks are written in a third, and answers are given in a fourth language/style.

Thus one finds the linguistic needs and the capacity of learners are the greatest casualities in the present language education programs. They aim at replacing the easy-going folk multilingualism of illiterate masses by the elegant bilingualism (or trilingualism) with standardization pulls from different directions; e.g., neo-Sanskritic Hindi, Perso-Arabicized Urdu, BBC or AIR English, medieval literary Telugu, and classicized modern Tamil. One finds that even though considerable time is spent on the second and third languages in school, these languages are either restricted for 'library' use or find no application at all in meaningful communicative tasks during the entire school career. Thus, the rigid demands on education turn the effortless gift of social verbalization among the illiterates into a strenuous, time-consuming task of learning the elite-acceptable diction of their own speech. This results in a depicting of I.Q. and other talent indices through a skillful competence in a particular 'tradition.'

In the so-called 'advanced' speech behavior, language boundaries become sacred, and spontaneity and creativity leading to hybridization gets rationed through the standardization processes. The contextual and functional fluidity in speech, which manages to go across the boundaries of languages or diction, is deprecated by the custodians of language (through prescriptive manuals, style sheets, authorizing terminologies, etc.)

Language identity in the present Indian situation is characterized by the demands of language privileges in different walks of life and consequently the 'high brow' content of privileged language is cherished for its 'ornate' functions. But language as a means of communication in a plural society and as a means of social mobility acquires significantly different characteristics under the pressures of modernization. It is mostly the students who bear the total brunt of the imbalances arising out of the emphasis on language privileges and language elegance at the cost of communicability.

Various constraints in the spread of education are attributed to the multiplicity of languages, whereas the real issues to cope with are the confrontation between 'tradition' and 'modernity' concerning the role of language in education, and dogmatic rigidity in claiming privileges for different languages in the education curriculum. When dealing with the education for plural societies we shall do well to realize the risks involved in uniform solutions.

FOOTNOTES

[1] The federal government has introduced a Central Schools system in major towns throughout the country for the children of those employed in all-India services and those belonging to mobile occupations in business and industry, where education is imparted through Hindi, or English, or both languages.

[2] Except the Osmania University located at Hyderabad, in the Telugu-speaking princely state of Nizam, which taught through the Urdu medium for catering to the traditional Muslim education.

[3] The All-India Universities Conference in 1939 had recommended that the mother tongue of students should be the medium of instruction at different stages of education up to the degree course. It was again endorsed by the Fourth Conference of Indian Universities in 1943 and by the Central Advisory Board of Education in 1946 (India 1960: p. 156).

[4] In a survey conducted at Nagpur University, it was found that although Hindi and Marathi were compulsory media for undergraduate arts and science courses, 88 per cent of the science students in 1955 obtained 'special permission' to study through the English medium. Failures in both arts and science faculties were higher among the regional medium students. This reveals that the better students prefer English, and are able to cope with it. Quoted in Dakin (1968: pp. 28-29).

[5] In the controversy over language privileges, particularly in the sphere of education, two diverse interpretations of mother tongue have been emphasized by conflicting pressure groups. According to the narrow interpretation, the home language of each child--'the language spoken from the cradle' (1951 Census of India 1954: p. 1)--was accepted as mother tongue. Whereas, the broad interpretation regarded all minority languages not having any written tradition as 'dialects' of the dominant language in the region, by which there was implicit denial of equal rights to linguistic minorities on the ground of practicability (Khubchandani 1974a; 1975a).

[6] The exclusion of Urdu, one of the 15 major languages recognized in the Constitution, from the Uttar Pradesh schools, was justified on the grounds that the use of the Urdu script would handicap the children who learnt it, since Hindi (in the Devanagari script) and English were the languages they would require at the university and in the services (India 1960: pp. 222-223).

[7] In 1952, university teachers in the Madras state expressed their reluctance to make any change until 'a large variety of books and journals in the national and regional language become available.' Annual Conference of University Teachers Proceedings, 1952.

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